Indian Slaves from Caribana: Trade and Labor in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean

Carolyn Marie Arena

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2017

ABSTRACT

Indian Slaves from Caribana: Trade and Labor in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean

Carolyn Marie Arena

Indigenous resistance made Caribbean colonization a slow and violent process in the period of 1580-1690. The Caribbean Indians who rejected colonization became targets for enslavement. Slavers captured indigenous people in raids or through trade within indigenous-dominated territories. I conceptualize this space as "Caribana." Geographically, it stretched from Guiana northward throughout islands of the Lesser Antilles. I focus on the Indigenous captives from Caribana who were enslaved in English and Dutch colonies, namely Barbados, Curaçao, and Suriname. I show how colonists justified enslaving indigenous people in the same manner as they justified the trans-Atlantic African slave trade, despite widespread taboos against the former practice and not the latter. These taboos did not prevent Indian slavery, but they influenced the creation of seventeenth-century histories, government reports, and other material for public and European consumption. Indian slavery has thus been written about, then and now, as a limited phenomenon wherein Indians had limited and specific labor roles (i.e. as fishermen or domestic servants). However, sources such as deeds and tax-rolls show that more Indian slaves than assumed contributed a broad range of skills to plantations economies. English Barbados was exceptionally successful because it was geographically separated from the conflicts that created captives in Caribana, but nevertheless extracted Indian slaves from the region. Meanwhile, colonies abutting Caribana, such as Suriname, faced trade sanctions from neighboring Indians and rebellions if they abused the Indian slave trade. From the 1670s-1690s, Colonial governments limited the means of accessing Indian slaves, but once enslaved, they faced the same restrictive "black codes" that allowed the brutal treatment of them as inheritable chattel.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF IMAGES AND TABLE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge those who have contributed to this dissertation:

Christopher Brown, for his patience, thoughtful commentary, and empathy for historical subjects and graduate students alike.

Evan Haefeli for his encouragement to always consider the indigenous perspective and think big.

My good-humored Dutch teachers, Wijnie de Groot and Frans Blom, for sharing the valuable skill of reading seventeenth-century Dutch manuscripts.

To my colleagues in the Dutch Atlantic, Deborah Hamer and Suze Zijlstra, for helping me to decipher those manuscripts while transcribing and translating material from Archives in the Netherlands. Suze was invaluable for directing me to useful primary source material.

Michiel van Groesen, who served as my very welcoming advisor at the University of Amsterdam, and the rest of their very warm department there, and especially the other PhD candidates in the "Dutch Golden Age Room."

Arne Bialuschewski, for his careful help with material that appears here in Chapter 4, and in my forthcoming article "Indian Slaves from Guiana in Seventeenth-Century Barbados," *Ethnohistory* 64, no 1 (January 2017).

L.H. Roper, for his cheerful and knowledgeable comments on material that appears in Chapter 5 and 6, and in my forthcoming chapter "Aphra Behn's Oroonoko, Indian Slavery, and the Anglo-Dutch Wars, 1650-1688," *The Torrid Zone: Colonization and Cultural Interaction in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press).

My colleagues at Columbia's Early Modern British and Atlantic World History (informally called "the Breakfast Club") for their helpful and constructive commentary.

Justin Roberts for his enthusiasm for the shared histories of Barbados and Surinam, his invitation to present my preliminary research findings at the Stokes Lectures series at Dalhausie.
Raquel Otheguy, Sarah Shaw, Ariel Lambe, and Matthew Merguerian for their assistance in editing.
Jeffrey Wayno for the Latin to English translation of Charles de Rochefort's Letter from Curaçao
Thomas Leng for introducing me to the Indian slave trade proposal of Benjamin Worsley.

The generous funding for research and educational opportunities provided by: Columbia's History Department, the joint Columbia-London School of Economics Global History Exchange, The Fulbright Commission with the Netherlands-America Alliance, the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Program, and the Folger Shakespeare Library Seminars.

The institutions and staff where I did research: the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Library of Congress Map Room, the Barbados Archives, the British Library, the National Archives of Great Britain, the National Archives of the Netherlands, the Royal Library of the Netherlands, the KITVL Library at the University of Leiden, the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, and especially the very *gezellig* staff of the Zeeuws Achief in Middleburg, the Netherlands, who hosted my first research trip. Your patience with my Dutch language skills, and your free coffee, will not be forgotten.

Matt Merguerian and Theo Arena Merguerian, who fill my heart with joy and gratitude.

This dissertation is dedicated to my brother, Joseph A. Arena, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

In 1668, a member of Charles II's Trade Council, Benjamin Worsley, considered strategies for supplying plantation laborers for the English sugar colonies, particularly the new acquisition of Jamaica. Worsley wrote that if the English Caribbean wanted to be "sole masters of sugar for all the world," they could potentially use Guiana, the region on the north coast of South America between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers, as a source for Indian slaves. He argued that that it would take less time, and thus be more profitable, to transport slaves within the Caribbean region, rather than from Africa. There, the English might take advantage of "the continuall warrs & differences" that the Indians of Guiana "have one with another," just as slavers in Africa had benefitted from internecine conflicts near the coast. Worsley noted that many slaves could be found "upon the Coast of Guiana[,] where the Indians doe not onely take one another prisoners[,] but doe as usually sell one another for such goods as they lack in that Country."[1] Worsley had no direct experience in either the Caribbean or Africa, but he was a professional advisor, and his library inventory indicates that he had read multiple authors who referenced Indian slaves in the Caribbean, including Walter Raleigh, Charles de Rochefort (through John Davies's English translation), and Richard Ligon.[2] These sources were in no way advocating a regularized Indian slave trade. Indeed, although missionaries and humanists wrote about Indian slavery, and they abhorred precluding indigenous people from conversion to Christianity or subjecthood in to European monarchs or states through enslavement.

---

[1] Benjamin Worsley to the Duke of Buckingham? "Paper [no 9] on the importance of Jamaica and sugar, c. 1668" page 244, Copy in 'The 1661 Notebook of John Locke', entered under 'Jamaica', pp. 215-219, 232-252, Bodleian Library MS Film 77; thanks to Thomas Leng for providing me with a transcription of this source.

[2] J. Dunmore and R. Chiswell, *Catalogus librorum . . .instructissimarum bibliothecarum tum clarissimi doctissimique viri D. Doctoris Benjaminis Worsley* (London 1678) *Early English Books Online*; for more on Thomas Worsley, see Thomas Leng, *Benjamin Worsley (1618-1677): Trade, Interest, and the Spirit in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2008).

Nevertheless, as this dissertation will highlight, each of these sources contained references to how Indian slaves contributed to the transformation of the Caribbean economy. *Ad hoc* purchases through captive markets, and raids on indigenous communities during periods of war, threatened Caribbean natives throughout the seventeenth century. Worsley's suggestion of a more institutionalized trade, which may have never been seriously considered, came to naught. However, his proposal reveals the importance of indigenous politics and trade on the Guiana coast, and its impact on the successes and failures of colonial plantation economies.

A number of accounts, deeds, and laws testify to the presence of Indian slaves on Barbados from its first settlement in 1627. Deeds used the language "negroes, indians and other slaves" to describe the laboring population attached to the properties sold.[3] *The Barbados Laws and Acts* printed for Richard Hall in London in 1764 indicates that for all laws passed regarding "Indians" one should "See Slaves."[4] In the late-seventeenth century, as the demand for slaves steadily increased, the Barbados Council began to limit the practice of Indian enslavement in favor of African slavery. Monopoly companies had begun delivering African slaves across the Atlantic more regularly, which partially offset the demand for other laborers, both European and native. However, the more pressing concern for the Barbados Assembly was that Indian slaves were a rebellious element. The rebellion of Metacom (King Phillip's war, 1676-1678) against New England had united multiple indigenous nations. News of this united rebellion created

---

[3] Deed transferred from Col. William Hillyard to Col. George Standfast, Edward Pure, Esq, Sert. Major Edward Chamberlain and Cpt. Ferdinand George, Wiliam Draxe and Nicholas Erros, 30 October 1656 o.s. [entered 26 April 1656 o.s.], Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds (hereafter, BARD). This deed reads that plantation was being sold along with "all Chrstian Servants, for ye respective tymes they have to serve all negroes indians & other slaves with all ye cattle . . ." RB 3/5 folios 120-122. Another document concerning the same property used the language of "negros Indians & other slaves wh their increase," 1 November 1656 o.s., RB 3/5 folios 123-125.

[4] An example of the sort of law that the index directs us towards is “An Act declaring the Negro-Slaves of this Island to be Real Estates,” 29 April 1668, in *Acts and Laws of Barbados* (London, 1764), The National Archives of the United Kingdom, London (hereafter TNA), Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 30/1, 64-65.

paranoia among the Barbados Assembly (representing the interests of large plantation owners) about importing Native Americans as slaves to Barbados, as they might incite similar revolts against the colonists. The Barbados legislators did not aim to prevent the import of *all* Indian slaves, however, but only the Indians from New England, New York, and Rhode Island who were "knowne to be Notorious Villaynes" and "Obstinant Incourigble Rogues and cunning thieves."[5]

It would not be until 1688 that the Barbados Assembly decided to outlaw the importation of *all* Indian slaves to Barbados, which suggests that the routes and means of acquiring Indian slaves (apart from connections to North America) had been operating, without major opposition, for a long time prior to this legislation.[6] Indian slaves from New England and New Netherland had indeed been a part of the English and Dutch Caribbean landscape since the early-seventeenth century, in Bermuda (English), Providence Island (English), and Curaçao (Dutch). However, it is unclear how many Indian slaves from North America were in Barbados itself at the time of the 1676 and 1688 acts. In most instances, historians have used sources from New England saying that these captives were sent to the "West Indies." Historians have guessed that they went to Barbados since it was the largest recipient of slaves in the English Atlantic for most of the seventeenth century.[7] For this dissertation, the records reviewed of Indian slaves in Barbados

---

[5] Linford D. Fisher, "'Dangerous Designes': The 1676 Barbados Act to Prohibit New England Slave Importation," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser, 71, no 1, January 2014; "An Act of Explanation to the Act of Negroes, and to prohibite the bringing of Indians to this Island," 14 June 1676, *Transcripts Acts*, Barbados Archives, 421-423.

[6] "Act for securing the possession of Negroes and slaves," 27 November 1688 [o.s.], *Council Minutes 1684-1689*, Barbados Archives, 460-62.

[7] Native North Americans did not arrive as slaves in the Caribbean until the Pequot Wars of 1637 sent at least seventeen Indians to Providence Island and the "West Indies." See Michael J. Fickes, "They Could Not Endure that Yoke: The Captivity of Pequot Women and Children after the War of 1637," *New England Quarterly* 73 no 1 (2000); For Indian slaves in Bermuda (both indigenous and imported) see: Virginia Bernhard, *Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda 1616-1782 (*Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999). In the Dutch Atlantic, Laurence M. Hauptman and Ronald G. Knapp wrote that defeated Algonquians from Governor Keifts War (1641-

(and Suriname) do not provide irrefutable evidence of this matter either, since they conflate the origins of all native peoples of the Americas into one category: "Indian." Or they note that there are "other" slaves within the list of "negroes," without indicating who or how many these others were. Consequently, calculating the exact demographics of Indian slaves on the island, as Jerome S. Handler has noted, is an "impossibility."[8] Despite the challenge, identifying the origins of the Indians slaves of Barbados reveals how indigenous people throughout the Caribbean influenced colonization, both on Barbados, and through Barbados's influence, throughout the Americas. The evidence presented in this dissertation shows that we must start our investigation of Indian slavery more locally, as Worsley suggested, within the Caribbean itself.

My dissertation reveals the context for Indian rebellions, both feared and real, through a narrative of colonial-indigenous trade and enslavement in the Caribbean since the 1580s, leading up to the period of the 1670s and 1680s when colonial legislatures began limiting the trade in Indian slaves. This legislation appeared in Barbados, and colonies founded by Barbadians. In Carolina, Alan Gallay describes the 1680s as a period when the legislature there began to publish and distribute regulations against keeping Indian slaves. They also proposed penalties against colonists "interfering with Indian embassies" and "instructed the governor and council to establish a commission to meet at least every two months in Charles Town to hear all complaints." These laws eventually failed, however, as the colonial legislature did not have the resources to enforce them, nor necessarily the will of the people. Gallay suggests that the Indian captives exported from Carolina from the late seventeenth century through the eighteenth century

---

1645) and the Two Espohus Wars (1659-1664) were sent to Bermuda and Curaçao. "Dutch-Aboriginal Interaction in New Netherland and Formosa: An historical Geography of Empire*" Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol 121, No 2 (April 29, 1977) 172.

[8] Jerome S. Handler, "The Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Caribbean Studies* 8, no. 4 (January 1969) 38-64; 38.

most likely ended up in Barbados, because of the strong trade connections between the two colonies, and Barbados's insatiable demand for slaves during this period. However, Gallay acknowledges that import records for Barbados do not exist to verify this.[9] My research corroborates that Barbados did indeed have precedents of receiving Indian slaves, but I have only found evidence that they were from the circum-Caribbean region prior to the 1670s, and Caribbean Indians probably continued to be the majority of Indian slaves in Barbados because of the aforementioned legislation preventing North American imports in 1676 and 1688. This dissertation shows that Barbados may not have imported North American Indian slaves before this period, but it did export the tradition of subsuming indigenous people within the category of "Negroes, Indians and Other Slaves" into the Black Codes to North American colonies, making Indians, particularly Carib Indians, subject to an imposed racial identity.

A third colony, established by Barbadians, also experienced Indian rebellion and legislative response to Indian slavery during the 1670s and 1680s: Suriname. In 1650, the Barbados Governor, Francis Lord Willoughby, had founded the English colony (called "Willoughbyland" or "Surinam") in Guiana.[10] At the end of the second Anglo-Dutch War (1664-1667), England lost this colony to the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Both English and Dutch colonial forces relied on indigenous allies throughout this war (generally, the English on the Carib, and the Dutch on the Arawaks), causing both colonial powers to reconsider the trade in Indian slaves. Both Arawak and Carib people, too, reconsidered the ways in which their trade

---

[9] Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 48, 301-02.

[10] A note on spelling: "Suriname," the Dutch spelling, is the name for present-day country located in the Guiana region of South America. "Surinam," without an "e," is the English spelling, and the name of the short-lived (1650-1667) English colony surrounding the same river. "Willoughbyland" never came into general usage (see Chapter 5). In this dissertation, I will use the English spelling for specific references to the English colony, but the Dutch spelling when referring to colony's overall history, or the river as a geographical feature (ie "The Suriname River").

enabled the growth of colonial settlements in the region. After the second Anglo-Dutch War, Dutch efforts to replace the English in Carib trade networks backfired. Various factions of both the Caribs and Arawaks took advantage of the weakened, post-war colony to begin an Indian rebellion that lasted from 1678 to 1680. Thus, from 1667 until the 1680s, Dutch governors in Suriname issued ordinances that limited the use of Indian slaves, and made treaties with neighboring Indian populations promising not to raid their communities for slaves. In Carolina, as in Suriname, government limitations on enslaving *neighboring* Indian populations only pushed the Indian slave trade further away from sites of colonial development and into frontiers.

My dissertation engages with the growing and excellent literature on the connections between Barbados the colonies of "the Barbadian Diaspora": Suriname (1651), Jamaica (1655), and Carolina (1670), with a particular focus on Anglo-Dutch connections in Suriname.[11] For this dissertation, I will focus on the interactions between Barbados and Suriname, including colonies in Guiana that preceded and inspired both settlements. As this study is limited to the seventeenth century, I gesture towards the colonization of Jamaica and Carolina, but will consider, as Justin Roberts does, the loss of Suriname to the Dutch in 1667 to also represent a loss of Barbados's centrality in the English Caribbean.[12] Most importantly, Barbados and Suriname share a third, non-colonial cultural influence of Carib colonization, which Jamaica and Carolina do not.

Barbados and Suriname share links to the historical region I define as "Caribana."

---

[11] Ian Beamish and Justin Roberts, "Venturing Out: The Barbadian Diaspora and the Carolina Colony, 1650-1685," in *Creating and Contesting Carolina: Proprietary Era Histories*, edited by Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 49-72; Alison Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style: English Inhabitants in Dutch Suriname after 1667," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (April 2015): 195–242; Suzanna (Suze) Zijlstra "Anglo-Dutch Suriname: Ethnic Interaction and Colonial Transition in the Caribbean, 1651-1682" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2015); Justin Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam: The Barbadian Diaspora and the Expansion of the English Sugar Frontier 1650-75," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 73, no 2 (April 2016): 225-256.

[12] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 228.

Culturally, Caribana was the region of cultural influence of ethnically Carib and Kalinago (Island Carib) peoples, who emerged from Guiana to colonize the Lesser Antilles throughout the pre-Columbian period. Politically, it was the region where various indigenous peoples successfully resisted Spanish colonization, and in response, the Spanish labeled them all "Carib," regardless of whether they identified as Kalinago. Most early modern Cartographers placed Caribana in the interior of Guiana, but I will include the Island Carib or Kalinago, who limited and threatened European expansion throughout the seventeenth century. The term Caribana is, furthermore, a useful addition to the European-first language of the "Spanish Caribbean," "Dutch Caribbean," "French Caribbean," reminding us that the Caribbean was far from an entirely colonial space in this early period. Many of the lands surrounding and within the Caribbean Sea had been *creole* spaces since Columbus entered the region: shaped and contested by peoples of various indigenous, African, and European descent. Caribana, however, more specifically expresses the changes over time in indigenous autonomy and inter-tribal alliances against European settlements (see Chapter 1).

Barbados was an exceptional space within Caribana. Although ethnically Carib people had come to Barbados, and settled there with elaborate earthenware jugs to collect fresh rainwater, these Indians had also abandoned the island before the first English explorers saw the island in 1625.[13] The Island Carib people, it seems, did not value the island as much as islands such as Dominica or St. Vincent, where they retained large populations throughout the seventeenth century. Whether Barbados was liminal because of its lack of freshwater resources, or its geography slightly east of the volcanic chain of the Lesser Antilles, remains unclear. This

[13] "A true State of the Case between the Heires and Assignes of Sir Willian Courten Knight, Deceased, and the late Earl of Carlisle, and Planters in the Island of Barbadoes, annexed to the Petition of William Courten Esquire, and others, exhibited in parliament" in the British Library, Manuscripts, Egerton MSS (eg) 2395 fol 602.

dissertation shows that Barbados's liminality to Caribs is what facilitated its centrality to English plantation owners and Dutch merchants forging their own footholds in the Caribbean.

The tri-part influence of the Carib, English, and Dutch colonizers give Barbados and Suriname a strong basis for comparison. It becomes clear that the differences in colonial development had much more to do with their positions vis-à-vis Caribana, than either English or Dutch factors. By the 1680s, Barbados was economically productive and secure, while Suriname was war-torn, and struggling to retain a colonial population. Both of these colonies had depended on Indian labor from their foundations, and accessed Indian slaves through connections to Guiana. Barbados continued to grow as a premier sugar-producing island of the seventeenth century, absorbing and legally regulating the Indian slave population under the same "black codes" as the African slave population. Meanwhile, Suriname, especially under the Dutch, suffered from hampered economic growth and an Indian rebellion from 1678-1680. In response, Dutch Suriname's governors passed multiple ordinances that regulating the Indian slave trade separately from the African slave trade, because of their proximity to sites of Indian trade. Barbados was relatively isolated from these sites of exchange, although Barbados governors and merchants engaged with the Kalinago in diplomacy and trade. Colonial conflicts with the Kalinago affected islands where they maintained settlements, however, not Barbados. The Caribs who lived around Suriname could, more readily, attack the merchants who cheated them or the slave raiders who robbed their communities. Conflicts with indigenous-colonial trade, and the Second Anglo-Dutch War, created opportunities for Indians and African slaves alike to attack Suriname's plantations, destroy sugar works, and confine the spread of colonial settlements.

Previous scholarship on Indian slavery in the Caribbean has neither emphasized the relationship between the free indigenous population and the plantation economy, nor compared

the legal trajectories of Indian and African slaves. Rather, the historiography has stressed the limited numbers of Indians enslaved, the few labor roles they were assigned, and how they were segregated from the rest of the indentured or enslaved workers. Jerome S. Handler, whose two articles on Indian slavery in Barbados have set the standard interpretation of the practice on the colony, argued that Indian slaves contributed the creole culture of Barbados, and they eventually blended into the African slave community, but that they nevertheless maintained a cultural and physical separateness from African slaves.[14] In another article, he concluded that "Indian slaves seem to have been employed primarily in household and domestic chores, rather than as field laborers on sugar plantations" and that the sources "might indicate that Indians lived apart from both African slaves and European indentured servants."[15] Scholars writing since these articles were published have largely concurred, emphasizing the themes of small numbers and limited roles for Indian slaves: male Indians might have used native skills as fishermen and hunters, and female Indians, known for their docility, were domestic laborers who cooked best with native foodstuffs.[16] All of these scholars have agreed that Indian enslavement was not a broad phenomenon in sugar-producing regions because colonists still "universally felt that Amerindians were unsuitable for plantation labor"[17] and could not "cope with demands of large

---

[14] Handler, “Amerindian Slave Population,” 38

[15] Handler, "Aspects of Amerindian Ethnography in 17th-Century Barbados," *Caribbean Studies* 9, No. 4 (Jan.,1970) 54.

[16] Elaine Breslaw focused on the labor of Indian women from the Caribbean, and North America, as domestic servants in *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1996) 7. Richard Price wrote a frequently cited article about Indian slaves in which he argues they were mostly fisherman who used their native skills on plantations. "Caribbean Fishing and Fishermen: A Historical Sketch." *American Anthropologist* vol. 68, no. 6 (December 1966): 1363–83. Justin Roberts writes that there were "perhaps a few Native slaves" among the 3750 enslaved people of Suriname in 1663, in "Surrendering Suriname," 234-235 fn 31.

[17] Neil L. Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit: A History of the Caribs in Colonial Venezuela and Guyana, 1498-1820* (Dordrecht, 1988), 184.

agriculture."[18] These various analyses present Caribbean Indians in contradictory terms: physically weak but strongly-skilled, compliant but proudly-willed, separate but culturally blended into the larger slave community. Although Indians slaves were present in smaller numbers than African slaves, they may have represented close to 16% of the enslaved population of Suriname after the second Anglo-Dutch War.[19] This is a substantial minority population worthy of their own history, rather than their dismissal as niche laborers.

Recent histories of early-seventeenth-century Barbados have focused on the similarities between indentured laborers and slaves (of African descent), at least in terms of living conditions, social lives, and labor performed, stressing that class was more important, initially, than inchoate concepts of race.[20] Archeological evidence, similarly, suggests that these groups were not physically segregated until sugar production boomed in the mid-seventeenth century.[21] This thesis extends these conclusions to Indian slaves, pointing to more similarities with both indentured servants and African slaves, especially in terms of labor roles, than previously understood.

---

[18] Quote from Breslaw, *Tituba*, 41; Hilary McD. Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation of the Caribbean," *Caribbean Quarterly* 38 (1992): 1-14, 123-124. Philip P. Boucher writes that "Netiher the French nor the English enslaved Island Caribs except as personal servants and food provisioners," in *Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492-1763* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 40.

[19] The figure of 16% is derived from a petition of the inhabitants of Suriname to the Zeeland Chamber of the West Indies Company, March 11, 1671, Zeeuws Archive (Middelburg, Zeeland, the Netherlands, henceforth ZA), Staten van Zeeland (henceforth SvZ), 2035-2225. The inhabitants, who are probably suggesting that more African slaves ought to be sent via the WIC, write that there are five hundred Indian slaves out of 3000 slaves total. For the context surrounding this petition and these numbers, see Chapter 6.

[20] Hilary McD. Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The Colonization of Barbados 1627-1660* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013*);* Simon Newman*, A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[21] Douglas V. Armstrong and Matthew C. Reilly, "The Archaeology of Settler Farms and Early Plantation Life in Seventeenth-Century Barbados," *Slavery & Abolition* 35 (2014): 399-417.

Scholars of the African diaspora have debated how much African culture, local knowledge, and skills slaves retained through their Atlantic crossing, often questioning whether even a small number of people with a specific skills set (such as rice farming) could influence an entire colonial economy. [22] This debate is largely absent from histories of Indian slaves in the Caribbean, since sources from the seventeenth century (see below and Chapter 2) often claim that planters limited the use of Indian slaves to labor based on their native skills sets. These sources, and the scholarships that rely upon them, should be treated with skepticism, however, as colonial authors were usually motivated to downplay the extent of the use of Indian slaves because of widespread perception of it as a practice that was incompatible with the goals of spreading Christianity to indigenous people. My research suggests that transported Indians were forced to use both native skills and acquire new ones, similar to African slaves. Another similarity would have been the experience of social alienation, as both groups had been transportation away from their native communities. Although Barbados might have been more familiar to a native of Caribana than Africa, their enslavement as perhaps the lone Indian on a plantation or in a colonial household, would have been akin to the "natal alienation" and "social death" described in Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death* and Stephanie Smallwood's *Saltwater Slavery*. Social death made a person's transformation into a marketable commodity ("commodification") easier for slave traders and slaveholders. Although the middle passage was destructive, the shipment of such large amounts of people also facilitated the creation of Creole cultures in America, injecting elements from a variety of African cultures with indigenous and

---

[22] Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas," *American Historical Review,* vol. 112 no. 4 (December 2007): 1329-1358; S. Max Edelson, "Beyond 'Black Rice': Reconstructing Material and Cultural Contexts for Early Plantation Agriculture," *American Historical Review*, vol. 115 no 1 (February 2010): 125-135.

colonial European ways of life.[23] This thesis thus joins a newer theme of research in the literature of Native Americans in the Atlantic World that emphasizes the mobility of indigenous people. About 650,000 Indians were transported as slaves in the sixteenth-century Iberian Atlantic alone; other scholars have estimated enslaved indigenous peoples at two to four million. Alden T. Vaughn, Jace Weaver, and Nancy van Deusen have emphasized that even various forms of captivity and enslavement, however, did not preclude indigenous actors from advocating for themselves, or exuding agency as diplomats, translators, and informants. [24]

The transition from Indian to African slavery after the Spanish Conquest in the Caribbean is usually explained as a function of demographics: as native populations, and especially those who were enslaved, dwindled from disease and violence, African slaves seemed, to colonists, like a heartier people to replace them.[25] That narrative reinforces the idea that Indian slavery preceded African slavery, that efforts to make Indian slavery illegal in the Spanish Atlantic were successful, and that other colonizing nations followed suit in decreeing Indian slavery illegal. Research in the Spanish Southwest, English North America, and the French Atlantic reveal no such definite trajectory, either demographically or legally, and instead calls

---

[23] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[24] Alden T. Vaughn, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill, NC: the University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Nancy E. van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015) 2; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 9.

[25] This narrative is summarized well by Breslaw: "the Indian death rate was so high following contact with Europeans and their passive resistance to the labor demands of the seventeenth-century invaders so profound that English colonizers gave little thought to using native labor in the sugar fields. The linked susceptibility to disease and a refusal to work under European supervision with a general physical weakness that rendered Indians unfit for agricultural labor," *Tituba*, 7. Pieter Emmer gives another typical, if more passive, explanation for the transition to African slave labor, saying it was due to the "insufficient supply of both European migratory labor and labor in the new world as offered by Amerindians and by settlers of Europeans descent," in *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880: Trade, Slavery and Emancipation* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998) 31.

attention to regions where native peoples were not wiped out from 'virgin soil' epidemics, but rather remained powerful forces in slowing colonization. Under these circumstances, the Indian slave trade was not necessarily a product of European domination and control over indigenous people, but rather developed out of a set of mutual misunderstandings about the meanings of trade and captivity for the peoples who encountered each other. These themes of power, resistance, and diplomacy have been developed in the recent generation of scholarship about Indian slavery in the Americas, written by Christina Snyder, James F. Brooks, Julianna Barr, Alan Gallay, Brett Rushforth, Margaret Newell and Andrés Reséndez.[26] Each of these scholars have shown the many ways in which colonists found loopholes in systems of labeling so that they could continue the practice of Indian enslavement. For instance, Brett Rushforth notes that despite diplomatic concerns checking Indian slavery in the French Caribbean, the eventual "Code Noir" of 1685, similar to the collection of black codes that emerged from Barbados, did not explicitly stipulate who could be enslaved or not, but rather focused on what a slave was: moveable, inheritable property.[27] The Dutch, unlike the English and French, never had a systematic slave code, instead relying on precedents for taking war captives as slaves under Roman and Iberian law.[28]

---

[26] James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*; Idem (ed), *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Margaret Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015); Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: the uncovered story of Indian enslavement in the Americas (*Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016*).* For recent reviews of the historical literature of Indian slavery, see Rebecca Ann Goetz, "An Atlantic and Hemispheric Problem," *The History Compass* vol 14 no 2 (February 2016) 59-70. See also the introduction by Arne Bialuschewski and Linford Fisher in the forthcoming edited volume *Native American Slavery in the Seventeenth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, *forthcoming*).

[27] Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 112.

This recent scholarship establishes that these Roman and Spanish concepts of captivity and slavery were precedents, and thus justifications, for both Indian and African slavery. Prior to the colonization of America, Mediterranean slavery emerged, partially, out of competition between Christians and Muslims; but equality among co-religionists offered a modicum of protection from enslavement. Mediterranean piracy had been common enough that it made *all* travelers, regardless of religion, vulnerable to temporary captivity for ransom, impressment as galley slaves, or permanent enslavement. Nautical captivity, combined with the Spanish use of Muslim laborers during the *reconquista,* made slavery of cultural "others" a familiar practice in Europe when explorers began more frequent encounters with sub-Saharan Africans and Native Americans in the fifteenth century.[29] For both indigenous Africans and Americans, conversion to the religion of the captor offered a modicum of protection, but captors often precluded slaves from conversion for exactly this reason.[30] Both groups fell prey to the same cultural condemnations of being pagans, and thus culturally inferior, to Europeans. This perception gave European license to coerce both groups into subordinate positions of laborers.[31]

---

[28] J.A. Schiltkamp, "On Common Ground, Legislation, Government, Jurisprudence and Law in the Dutch West Indian Colonies: The Order of Government of 1629," *De Halve Maen* 70, no 4 (1997), 78-79.

[29] For the transference of the *encomienda* system from Spain to the New World, see Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 26-31. For the English experience in the Mediterranean, see Alison Games, "The Mediterranean Origins of the British Empire," in *Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008). For a detailed history of the intellectual response to Mediterranean slavery (especially in France), see Brett Rushforth "The Most Ignoble and Scandalous Kind of Subjection," *Bonds of Alliance*, 80-131.

[30] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World 1400-1800,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Richard Ligon described how he accepted enslaving captives through war, but found it hypocritical not to let slaves of African descent convert to Christianity when they wished it: Ligon, *The True and Exact History of Barbados*, J. Edward Hutson (ed) (St Michael's Parish, Barbados: The Barbados National Trust), 72.

[31] Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

Indigenous people were complicit in the enslavement of other native peoples, whom, like Europeans, they deemed outsiders. Both indigenous people and European merchants and colonists stood to gain diplomatic ties from exchanging slaves. As James Brooks and Julianna Barr have described in the southwestern borderlands, captive exchanges of Indian women, specifically, developed into a form of diplomacy between native Americans and European trade partners. Many indigenous cultures in the Americas, and Spaniards during the *reconquista* as well, saw purchasing women as a way to restock communities decimated by war. Furthermore, the buying and selling of brides was preferable to having a tribe's women captured by an enemy, as the victims of the trade symbolized social status and wealth. In short, both the conflict between indigenous peoples, and between Indian and colonial competitors, "resolved itself in the form of slavery."[32] Julianna Barr focuses on the position of women within these conflict resolutions, showing that terms such as captive, slave, servant or wife were all labels that depended more upon whether local governments had outlawed Indian slavery, rather than the reality of conditions that these women experienced.[33] Fernando Santos-Granero, discussing native tribes in the tropical Americas, including the Kalinago, describes how in indigenous societies, women captives were more often incorporated into households rather than male captives, who might be killed in rituals.[34] Using knowledge of these indigenous practices, and seventeenth century European histories of the Caribbean, most scholars have assumed that the

---

[32] Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 26-31.

[33] Julianna Barr, "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Women in the Borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 92, No. 1 (June 2005),19-46; idem, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); idem, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol 68, No 1 (January 2011): 5-46.

[34] Fernando Santros-Granero, *Vital Enemies: Slavery, Predation and the Amerindian Political Economy of Life* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009), 49.

majority of Indian slaves in this region were women.[35] While I agree that more women may have been captives *within* indigenous societies, this does mean that colonists purchased more women as Indian slaves than men. The evidence I have collected indicates that favoring female over male slaves was context dependent. In frontier societies in Guiana (like the Southwestern Borderlands), including Suriname and the trading forts of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), it appears that a higher number of Indian slaves were, indeed, female. The proportion of female to male Indian slaves perhaps suggests, as previous historians have noted, that their labor skewed towards the domestic: as cooks, housekeepers, or concubines. However, documents from the Barbados archives do not indicate a preference for either female or male Indian slaves.[36] There are a number of possible explanations. One might be that in Barbados, Indian slaves were more often acquired through military action, which would take more male prisoners of war. A second explanation is that sugar-production created roles for both male and female slaves, and performing gendered labor, or labor dependent on native skills, was of secondary concern to plantation owners and managers. A third explanation might be that Indian slaves were often acquired in non-military raids on the Caribbean Sea or rivers of Guiana, by stealing people (of either sex) traveling in canoes or pirogues.

The Indian slave trade thus complicated European efforts at diplomacy in the early Caribbean, as explorers and colonists often needed trade partners and military alliances as much as laborers. European dependency on Indian alliances was especially necessary after the

---

[35] Breslaw, *Tituba*, 6; Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 237. For a recent and excellent treatment of the history of Europeans sexualizing Kalinago women, and seeing them as targets for sexual violence, see Kelly L. Watson, *Insatiable Appetites: Imperial Encounters with Cannibals in the North Atlantic World* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 72-78.

[36] For the theoretical numbers and gender ratios for Indian slaves in Barbados, see Chapter 4; for Dutch Suriname and Dutch forts in Guiana, see Chapter 6. In general, the numbers of Indian slaves for the locations that I study should give the impression that this trade involved more people than scholars have previous thought, although most previous estimates have been qualitative (ie "few") rather than quantitative, and thus difficult to disprove.

cooperative relationship between the English and Dutch in the first half of the seventeenth century collapsed in the second half. As I examined evidence of Indian slavery in Barbados, it became apparent that Dutch mercantile connections to Guiana had facilitated, and continued to facilitate, an early trade in Indian captives. There is a robust literature on Anglo-Dutch trade and inter-dependency in the Caribbean to draw from, but rarely do these discussions include the trade in Indian slaves. Historians Wim Klooster and Christian Koot emphasize that in the early-seventeenth century, English and Dutch colonists, settlers and merchants operated with relative freedom from metropolitan oversight in the Caribbean, and the Dutch, in particular, benefited as merchants who supplemented the limited shipments of the Spanish flotilla system.[37] The English Navigation Acts, soon copied by the French, challenged this a new era of more restrictive mercantile trade. Correspondingly, Indian allegiances also split based on their preferred trade or military partners during the three Anglo-Dutch wars (1652-1654, 1664-1667, 1672-1674). The English tried to ally more closely with both the mainland Caribs in Guiana and the island Carib/Kalinago, while the Dutch courted the Arawaks who, along with the Caribs, surrounded the Suriname River. Instead of acquiring Indian slaves through indigenous traders and middlemen, these conflicts gave colonists the cover of "just war" to target Indian enemies for

---

[37] The literature on Dutch merchants as promoters of *kleine vaart*, or the small scale inter-imperial "free trade" in the Atlantic, is robust. Recent studies include: Wim Klooster, *Illicit riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (Leiden, NL: KITLV Press, 1998); Pieter Emmer " 'Jesus Christ was good but Trade was Better': an Overview of the Transit trade of the Dutch Antilles, 1634-1795," in *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880,* Peter Emmer (ed), (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); April Lee Hatfield "Dutch and New Netherland Merchants in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake" and Jan de Vries, "The Dutch Atlantic Economy," in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel,* Peter Coclanis (ed) (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005); Christian Koot, "An Adaptive Presence: The Dutch Role in the English Caribbean before and after the 'Fall' of Dutch Brazil." *De Halve Maen: Journal of the Holland Society of New York* 78, no 4: 69-76; Idem, "'A Dangerous Principle': Free Trade Discourses in Barbados and the English Leeward Islands, 1650-1689." *Early American Studies* 5, no 1: 132-163 (Spring 2007); Idem, *Empire at the periphery: British colonists, Anglo-Dutch trade, and the development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1674* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2012).

slave raids. As Chapters 5 and 6 will demonstrate, the Anglo-Dutch wars were most likely a peak period in the volume and traffic of Caribbean Indian slaves. The Anglo-Dutch Wars were also a major contributing factor to the aforementioned Indian Rebellion of 1678-1680, and the whole period of from 1664-1680 may be seen as one continual period of Indigenous-Anglo-Dutch conflict in Caribana.

Historians have previously focused on diplomacy and military dependency as effective checks to Indian enslavement rather than as covers and motivation for the practice. Philip Boucher's *Cannibal Encounters* tests the presumption that French Caribbean colonists had relatively good relationships and trade with the Island Caribs compared to the English. Boucher concludes that the relatively small number of French colonists created more inter-dependency on trade and more inducements to form diplomatic relationships with the Caribs, but he also demonstrates that violence and slave raiding between the Caribs and French colonists occurred throughout the seventeenth century, just as it did with English colonists.[38] Similarly, narratives of the Dutch trade in the Caribbean emphasize their role as profit-seeking merchants dealing with indigenous people, rather than aggressive colonizers enslaving or displacing them.[39] Like Boucher, Mark Meuwese emphasized Dutch dependence on native allies in *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade.* He writes that the Dutch WIC considered the two spheres of the Atlantic (America and Africa) to be very different in terms of indigenous relations. Meuwese writes that "the Company prohibited the enslavement of indigenous Americans as much as possible whereas it actively participated in the African slave trade. For the WIC black Africans were clearly not

[38] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters,* 10-11, 29.

[39] The myth of the profit-seeking, rather than territory-seeking Dutch trader has its origins in the foundation of the Dutch West India Company (1621) itself, which announced its purpose as "peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts" should only be done if it advances the cause of trade." "Charter of the Dutch West India Company," 3 June 1621, available in English translation via the *Avalon Project* at Yale University <www.yale.edu/17th_century/westind/asp>.

'natural allies' who needed to be liberated."[40] However, Meuwese leaves out the Caribbean of his otherwise comprehensive narrative on the Dutch Atlantic. Sources from both Curaçao and Dutch Suriname show that the labor of Indians was managed very similarly to that of African slaves, and was never prohibited altogether. Although both Boucher and Meuwese correctly point out the vast *rhetorical* difference between how the French and Dutch regarded indigenous Americans and Africans, there is ultimately no way to qualify whether the French or Dutch treated Indians "better" than the English, or whether all colonizing nations treated Indians "better" than Africans. Instead, this dissertation will focus on similarities between how colonists, regardless of national affiliation, treated Indians once subjected to slavery within European colonies.

Terminology and Sources

This dissertation uses the term "Indian slavery" to describe the condition of various indigenous peoples under the physical and legal control of colonists or colonial governments. I have chosen to use this term in favor of "Native American Slavery" or "Indigenous Slavery" to emphasize that transporting an indigenous person to a new and unknown location renders them non-native and non-indigenous to that new environment. Furthermore, the term "Indigenous Slavery" has been used in the anthropological literature to describe systems of captivity and captive exchanges within indigenous societies, which is not the focus of this dissertation. Neil L. Whitehead, whose work on Carib people has defined the field of Caribbean anthropology, has hesitated to label indigenous captivity systems in the Caribbean as "slavery" at all, raising issues that even the term "slavery" is conceptually western, and applying it to indigenous societies is an

[40] Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 323.

imposition. Nevertheless, he accepted the characteristics outlined by Fernando Santos-Granero of enslavement within indigenous societies, which Santos-Granero terms "captive slavery." Santos-Granero defines captive slavery as the practice of many indigenous societies in tropical America, including the Carib and island Carib/Kalinago, which: (a) classify entire outside populations as "enemy/captive," especially women and children; (b) inscribe these outsiders as slaves through bodily marks; (c) assign captives to household units; and (d) coerce captives to perform menial labor.[41] I will use this understanding of "captive slavery" in my dissertation to highlight how indigenous captives within indigenous societies were transformed into Indian slaves, held in perpetuity as property, within colonial societies.

Because I do not want to claim indigeneity for a person who is displaced from their original community, I will use the broad categorization of "Indian" often instead of "indigenous" person. This is also the word used by the majority of English, French, and Dutch sources. Although this is an obfuscation, I prefer to keep the original language of the source rather than imposing further labels on historical subjects whose identities are already obscured. For instance, the collection of the Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds (BARD) uses "Indian" without further specification of "Arawak," "Carib," "Kalinago," or other affiliation. Although I will argue that the slaves in Barbados were primarily people from Caribana (Guiana and the Lesser Antilles), the lack of direct evidence prevents me from labeling them with a more specific ethnic or tribal affiliation. The conflation of all people native to the Americas as "Indian" is similar to how Archival sources use the term "Negro" to describe slaves of diverse African origins.

[41] Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies,* 4; Neil L. Whitehead, "Indigenous Slavery in South America, 1492-1820," in Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (eds), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, vol. 3: AD 1420-AD 1804* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 248-271; a personal conversation with Neil Whitehead in the summer of 2010, before his passing, also informed my decision to specify that I am studying "Indian Slavery" rather than "Indigenous Slavery."

Occasionally more specific signifiers such as "Ibo" or "Coromantee" attached to these slaves.[42] Just as "Coromantee" is a fictional construction of an African identity, the term Indian is an erasure of identity, mirroring the other negations of personhood in a slave society.[43]

Manuscript and Archival Sources

The trade in Indian slaves was not regulated by any government-sanctioned trading company, and thus has no central comprehensive archive of its own, such as the Dutch West India Company for the Dutch trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Old West India Company archives contain tracts promoting various trade goods found on the Wild Coast, but little about on-the-ground interactions with Indians in this early period.[44] Furthermore, although the WIC oversaw Curaçao and many Caribbean islands, it was the Province of Zeeland that oversaw the development of Suriname until 1683, when it sold the colony to the WIC to control jointly with the Van Sommelsdijck family, and so the majority of colonial documents are in the Zeeuws Archives in Middelburg, Zeeland. In the late-sixteenth century, the Dutch project to undermine

---

[42] The following is an approximate Index of Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds records (Henceforth, BARD), Compiled July 20th, 2012. Each volume has some outlying documents that do not follow the particular chronological sequence noted, nor are all of the documents deeds. Each volume in the RB 3 series contains a range of approximately 700-900 pages, with an average of about one deed or legal document per page. A good estimate of the number of documents that I reviewed in the 12 volumes (listed below) is therefore over 9,000 transactions. RB 3/1: ~1636- 1645; RB 3/2: ~1639- 1663; 1666-1667; RB 3/3: ~1701, 1661-1662 and some earlier material from 1634 and 1649; RB 3/4: ~1685-1690; RB 3/5: ~1565-1662, 1641; RB 3/6: 1667-1669; RB 3/7: 1667-1669; 1653 and 1655; RB 3/8: 1670-1673; RB 3/9: 1674-1679; RB 3/10: 1669-1680; RB 3/11: 1679-1680, 1682 begins on page 558;RB 3/12: 1673 and 1684.

[43] "Coromantee" also spelled Koromantee referred broadly to slaves from Ghana, see Derek Hughes, "Introduction," *Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[44] Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Oude West Indische Compagnie (OWIC), 1621-1674, nummer toegang 1.05.01.01, inventaris nummer 46 ; special thanks to Mark Meuwese, Michiel van Groesen, Suze Zijlstra and Deborah Hamer, who have worked more extensively in the materials of the OWIC, for confirming my more cursory impressions that it was not a particularly fruitful source base for the study of Indigenous-Dutch interaction. These scholars each steered me towards anthropological research contained in the KITVL library instead, and in particular, Lodewijk Hulsman's dissertation, containing transcriptions of relevant Guiana Company documents, originally found in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

Spanish claims to the region was already underway by the *Staten Generaal* (translated here as the States General, the governing body of representatives for the United Provinces of the Netherlands) through their ongoing revolt. Dutch exploratory and mercantile efforts before then were mostly private enterprises, and thus early government documents and reports are lacking.[45]

Rather than a central archive, evidence for the practice of Indian slave trading, or the demographics of Indian slaves in the Caribbean, whether English or Dutch, emerge in tantalizing snippets, whether from property transactions in the BARD sources just mentioned, in correspondence between colonial governors and metropolitan authorities, in ethnographies of missionaries, travel accounts, or local laws and ordinances. In addition to the Barbados Archives and the Zeeuws Archive, I also used government documents from the National Archives of the Netherlands, and the Colonial Office in the National Archives of the United Kingdom. The nature of Anglo-Dutch interactions means that English sources often contain more information about Dutch-Indian interactions, or vice versa. One of the most important sources for early Dutch colonial efforts on the Wild Coast was a history written anonymously but attributed to the English Major John Scott, who compiled his "Description of Guiana" during the second Anglo-Dutch War (1664-1667).[46]

As Rebecca Goetz has noted in a recent review article, reconstituting the demographics and daily lives of Indian slaves through archival material, regardless of location, is especially difficult.[47] The authors of plantation deeds treated slaves of both indigenous and African descent as one group, either including Indians within lists of "Negroes," or denoting the entire laboring

---

[45] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 10.

[46] Major John Scott, "The Description of Guiana" 1665, British Library, Sloane 3662.

[47] Goetz, "Indian Slavery: An Atlantic and Hemispheric Problem," 65.

population as "Negroes, Indians, and other Slaves." This suggests that the Indian slaves I have been able to individually identify may be a quite small sample compared to the unknowable number of Indian slaves hidden under these vague classifications.[48] Nevertheless, I have identified each explicit mention of an "Indian" slave between 1627-1700 in Barbados (Chapter 4, Table 1). In addition to a demographic snapshot, the BARD records, and Dutch Suriname's tax rolls from 1684, which explicitly list Indian slaves as a separate category, are intended to provide evidence, albeit contextual, to reconstruct the kinds of plantations, households, and businesses in which enslaved Indians labored. This context, in turn, suggests the sorts of economic activities that Indian slaves participated in, even if they do not identify specific job roles for specific Indian slaves. These sources reveal the types of crops farmed and produced on the plantations they lived, their gender (challenging stereotypes about their labor) and who their owners were (suggesting the types of channels they acquired Indian slaves through). I conclude that the evidence from both printed sources and private legal documents, when analyzed collectively, shows plantations owners compelling Indians to perform many kinds of labor, rather than limiting them to a pre-ordained skill set associated with native skills. Given that Indian slaves are found very often as servants and slaves on sugar plantations, I suggest (although cannot prove) their role in sugar cane harvesting and refinement as well. These sources are a useful complement, and in some instances a corrective, to the published narratives crafted for a public audience discussed below, especially when the public had such negative associations of Indian slavery.

[48] BARD, RB 3/5, 120-122; RB 3/5 123-125.

Printed Sources

Lesser Antilles

The published sources from the seventeenth-century Caribbean are often "histories," and the ones that I make the most frequent use of are Richard Ligon's *True and Exact History of the island of Barbados* (1657)*,* Charles de Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle & Morale des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique* (1658), and Jean-Baptiste du Tertre's *Histoire générale des Antilles Habitée Par Les Francois (1667).* I have chosen not to use John Davies's English translation of Charles de Rochefort, entitled *History of the Caribby Islands (1666),* because de Rochefort itself is largely plagiarized from Du Tertre's *Histoire générale.*[49] Furthermore, as noted by historian Nicolas Canny, John Davies transported Rochefort's commentary on plants, animals, and the human habitation and indigenous languages spoken on the *French* Antilles to the *English* isles, assuming that all Caribbean "natural history" was the same across islands.[50] I consider du Tertre and Ligon the most reliable and original of the three sources, but there is proof that de Rochefort,

[49] Du Tertre's preface remarks that most of de Rochefort's work was taken from an early manuscript copy of his own research, produced in the 1650s: "Ce Livre [de Rochefort] fut incontinent presenté à Messieurs de L'Assemblé des Phisiciens, Mathematiciens, & Astronomes, qui apres en avoir loüé le discours, remarquerent qu'excepté les disgressions qui'il a faites, tres-peu convenable à l'histoire des Ant-Isles, le vocabulaire de ce bon Pere [Raymond Breton's vocabulaire Carib], & les belles Antitheses de ses Amis, presque tout le reste estoit si fidellement tiré de mon Livre, qu'il n'a pas mesme obmis les fautes que j'y avois faite." Du Tertre, "Preface," *Histoire Generale Des Antilles Habitées Par Les François. Divisée En Deux Tomes. Et Enrichie de Cartes & de Figures.* Vol. I (Paris, France: Thomas Jolly, au Palais, 1667). See also: De Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale Des Iles Antilles de L'Amerique. Enrichie D'un Grand Nombre de Belles Figures En Taille Douce, Des Places & Des Raretez Les plus Considerables, Qui Y Sont Décrites. Avec Un Vocabulaire Caraibe. Second Editon. Reveuë & Augmentée de Plusieurs Descriptions, & de Quelques èclaircissemens, Qu'on Desiroit En La Precedente (*2nd ed. Rotterdam, NL: Arnout Leers, 1665). *Both de Rochefort and Du Tertre explicitly credit Raymond Breton's Vocabulaire Carib (1666) as one of their sources. Breton's work will be discussed in Chapter 1 along with Marcy Norton's creative use of Breton to glean information regarding indigenous systems of captivity in her article* "The Chicken or the *Iegue:* Human-Animal Relationships and the Columbian Exchange*,*" *The American Historical Review* 120 no 1 (2015): 28-60; 37-40. Another French Jesuit, Antoine Biet, also left a very long account *Voyage de la France Exquinoxiale en l'Isle de Cayenne* (Paris, 1664) of his visit to French Cayenne, in the east of Guiana, in 1652. He mentions brief visits to both Suriname and Barbados in 1654. Jerome S. Handler has translated the chapters of his Biet's account relevant to Barbados. See Handler, "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 32, no 2 (May 1967): 56-76.

[50] Nicholas Canny, "A Protestant or Catholic Atlantic World? Confessional Divisions and the Writing of Natural History." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181. Raleigh Lecture on History (November 22, 2011): 83-121, 112-113.

like Ligon and du Tertre, actually lived in the Caribbean on English, Dutch, and French Islands, and thus draws on his experience, as well as the experiences of these other authors.[51] Ligon writings were based on first-hand experiences working as a plantation manager for Thomas Modiford (future governor of Jamiaca) in Barbados for three years, from 1647 to 1650, before returning to England and penning his history in debtor's prison. Jean Baptist du Tertre was a French Dominican Missionary who spent eighteen years (1640-1658) on St. Christopher, Martinique, and Guadeloupe.[52] As a French Huguenot, de Rochefort had lived on Tortuga, jointly held by the French and Dutch, and spent a brief time in Dutch Curaçao in 1649 according to a letter he wrote to the Dutch Reformed Church from there.[53] Although the latter two sources are from French missionaries, the experience on jointly held islands with either the English or Dutch gives both authors more authority when it comes to the Caribbean as a whole. All authors witnessed a pivotal mid-century shift in the Caribbean towards sugar production and the increasing importation of slaves from Africa. I will discuss the biases in their work as missionaries and humanists reacting to the Black Legend with greater detail in Chapter 2.

Guiana

Although the Dutch and English were equally interested in the Guiana coast by the end of the sixteenth century, narrative sources come, disproportionately, from English voyageurs. The

---

[51] The published sources for seventeenth-century Caribbean history are, in general, limited. Richard S. Dunn remarks that he has only identified five substantial English accounts of the region from the seventeenth century: *The Voyage of Sir Henry Colt*, Ligon's *True and Exacte History of Barbados*, Christopher Jeafferson's *Letterbook*, and John Taylor's *Manuscript* (Jamaica); Sir Hans Sloane also described the seventeenth- century English West Indies, but his *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christopher and Jamaica* wasn't written and published until 1707. Dunn, *Sugar & Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (originally published 1972, reprint Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2000) 24. Of the sources mentioned by Dunn, I found that only Ligon made explicit reference to Indian slavery.

[52] Derek Hughes, Introduction to excerpt from Jean-Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles Habitées par les François in* Hughes (ed), *Versions of Blackness,* 327.

[53] Charles de Rochefort, "Charles de Rochefort to the Classis van Amsterdam," 1649. 379.2.2.2.3.224 (page 6). Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

English narratives of Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (first published in 1596), Lawrence Keymis, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (also 1596), and Robert Harcourt *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (first published 1613; second edition 1626) were each intended for wide audiences, although directly addressed to either Elizabeth I or James I in bids to continue supporting these ventures.[54] Of the three sources, the narrative of Raleigh's first voyage is by far the most well-known, and Keymis's narrative is well-known because of its association with Raleigh. Harcourt's narrative, although rich in details about indigenous-colonial relations, is seldom used in secondary sources (excepting the work of Joyce Lorimer and Alden T. Vaughn. See Chapter 3.) The narratives of Raleigh and his contemporaries provide the most information about how early European voyagers penetrated markets for Indian captives, or took captives on their own accord, or convinced Indians to perform labor, like cutting timber, on behalf of the European visitors.

I credit the compilation of the more fragmentary archival evidence about late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century voyages and indigenous interactions between English and Irish to the transcriptions in Joyce Lorimer's *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon*.[55] For records of the Amsterdam-based Guiana company, Lodewijk Hulsman has already done the painstaking work of transcribing materials from the Stadsarchief Amsterdam in the appendices of

---

[54] The following editions were consulted for this dissertation: *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, edited, annotated, and introduced by Neil L. Whitehead (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1997); *The Discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Ralegh with Related Documents*, edited and introduced by Benjamin Schmidt, The Bedford Series in History and Culture (Boston, MA and New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2008). I quote from Raleigh using both Whitehead and Schmidt's editions. Lawrence Keymis, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London, UK: Thomas Dawson, 1596), Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Robert Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana Describing the Climate, Situation, Fertlitie & Commodities of That Country: Together with the Manner, and Customes of the People*. Idem, *The Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (Edward Allde, London, 1626) Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. I quote Harcourt mostly from the 1626 edition; the added information in that edition is very helpfully set apart with a pointing finger symbols bracketing the added text.

[55] Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550-1646* (London, UK: The Hakluyt Society, 1989).

his dissertation, "Nederlands Amazonia: Handel met Indianen tussen 1580 en 1680 (Dutch Amazonia: Trade with Indians between 1580 and 1680)."[56] These two bodies of sources, English and Dutch, in conversation with one another, give a robust perspective of the simultaneous efforts of both English and Dutch, which also included Irish, Scottish, German, Swiss, and many other nationalities among them.

George Warren's *An Impartial Description of Surinam* (1667) is by far the most consulted, and comprehensive first-person account of life in English Surinam. However, little is known about the author and his motivations for writing or publishing this account.[57] Warren's *Description* is reputed to have served as source material for one of the most famous pieces of literature about seventeenth-century English Surinam, Aphra Behn's novella *Oroonoko: or, The Royal Slave* (1688).[58] Although the main plot of Behn's *Oroonoko,* and its title character, are romanticized and fictional, she frames her narrative as a first-person observer, leading to a robust debate about whether she actually visited Surinam herself. I have found that her description of English Surinam contains events found in archival material that can be corroborated with historical research, but do not seem to originate in Warren's account, lending credence to the idea that she actually traveled there or had privileged first-hand knowledge of the place. I argue that her fleeting references to the use of Indian slaves, conflicts with the indigenous population under both the English and the Dutch, and the mechanisms of colonial-indigenous trade, suggest that

---

[56] L.A.H.C. Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia: Handel met indianen tussen 1580 en 1680" (Doctor of Philosophy, History, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2009).

[57] George Warren, *An Impartial Description of Surinam upon the Continent of Guiana in America : With a History of Several Strange Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents* (London: William Godbid for Nathaniel Brooke, 1667), 17. *Early English Books Online;* Hughes, Introduction to excerpt "From George Warren An Impartial Description of Surinam," in *Versions of Blackness*, 331.

[58] Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko: Or, The History of the Royal Slave* (1688), in *Versions of Blackness*, Hughes (ed), 117-190.

Oroonoko is just as reliable (or unrelaible) an account as other commonly used an assumed factual narratives about the colony. George Warren also inspired (more obviously) one of the few account of Guiana written by a Dutch colonial secretary in Berbice, Adriaan van Berkel, who simply plagiarized almost all of Warren's *Description*. Athough his description of Berbice appears to have more original material, many elements are also borrowed from previous ethnographers and missionaries who traveled throughout Caribana.[59]

Method

The sources to study indigenous relations, and particularly Indian slavery, in the seventeenth-century Caribbean are fraught with unreliable narrators, plagiarized material, and obfuscating categorization. I have taken the approach of being skeptical of all of my sources, regardless of the authority they have taken on in the historiography. This skepticism requires a comparative approach across languages, nations, and the disciplines. Comparison is also necessary since each territory in the Caribbean, even one without a history of joint-conquest or multiple conquests like Barbados, came to be settled through inter-imperial, multinational, and

[59] Van Berkle's account is the only narrative from the seventeenth-century comparable to Warren or the aforementioned French missionaries. Hulsman has transcribed the shorter account that Abraham Cabeliau gave to the States General after his voyage; although it is lengthier than most Dutch accounts, but it is still less than six typed pages (see Chapter 3). Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," Bijlage A: Contemporaine Gescheven Bronnen, "1. Het Verslag van Abraham Cabeliau" 257-262. Adriaan van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien, behelzende een reis na rio de Berbice in . . .mitgaders een andere na de colonie van Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1695); Both the Dutch transcription and an English translation of van Berkel is available in Martijn van den Bel, Lodewijk Hulsman, and Lodewijk Wagenaar (eds), *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana: Amerindian-Dutch Relationships in 17th-Century Guyana* (Leiden, NL: Sidestone Press, 2014). There are also questions about whether he traveled to Berbice at all (although he seems to have); the editors have helpfully compiled and described Dutch newspapers reports that reference the indigenous people of Guiana, which started being published in 1618, and concluded that much of van Berkel reports from Berbice, and local conflicts with Indians, were copies of newspapers published in the Netherlands. See van den Bel, Hulsman, Wagenaar, "Dutch Newspaper Reporting on the Guianas, 1650-1700," ibid, 15-34.

colonial-indigenous interactions. No island was an "island" of self-sufficiency or cultural isolation, either from other European or indigenous actors.

In needed to re-evaluate the historiographical traditions about Indian labor in the English Caribbean by comparing published sources with private, manuscript sources. Elaine Breslaw's evidence that Tituba, the domestic servant accused in the Salem Witch Trials, was originally from the Caribbean, was found in the Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds (BARD) series. Tituba, or "Tattuba" as the records of her servitude suggest, do not actually mention that she is an Indian, however. Breslaw provided the circumstantial evidence that helped her reach the conclusion that she was a native of the Caribbean.[60] Rather than relying on detailed biographical reconstruction, I compiled all the explicit references to "Indian" servants of slaves in the BARD series; the result is Table 1 in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Table 1 proves the existence of Indian servants and slaves on Barbados in the seventeenth-century on sugar plantations (and other sorts of properties), but the table alone is insufficient to demonstrate the chain of interactions that might have led to an indigenous Carib or Arawak man or woman to becoming enslaved. In those circumstances, the published narrative sources and histories written in the seventeenth-century provided better insights into how Indian slaves might have been acquired. Even when based on rumor, or the intent to slander one nation's colonial competitors, re-occurring stories across languages and source base about thte use of alcohol, trade, war, or impressment to obtain the labor or Indian captives point to the these processes as widely-acknowledged truths. There are, unfortunately, no written sources from Carib peoples themselves to discuss the process of enslavement at the hands of Europeans; their perspective is informed through the archeologic and anthropologic record, however faulty that might be as well.

[60] Breslaw found a female servant named "Tattuba" on a 1676 deed from the BARD series. *Tituba*, 7.

Notes

This dissertation is organized in three parts in overlapping, but roughly chronological, order. The titles of each part refer to the dominant labor roles that indigenous peoples played throughout the seventeenth century vis-à-vis the development of European settlements and colonies. The chapters are further organized by geographical locations.

Dates for events within England and English colonies are given in the Old Style (Julian) Calendar.

Part I: Navigators
Chapter 1: Caribana

Introduction

Caribana, as a concept, challenges the idea of the Caribbean as a place primarily shaped by European economic forces. In the late 1970s and 1980's Immanuel Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory placed both the Caribbean and Africa as "peripheral" regions to early modern global trade systems. Latin Americanist and Caribbeanists swiftly dismissed Wallerstein's model as privileging European narratives. However, few studies of indigenous trade in the Caribbean have challenged his narrative in the same manner as histories of trade and slavery in West Africa.[61] Africanists responded with histories of how Europeans were the ones who were peripheral to pre-Colonial African economies, far from the dominating force that they would become in the nineteenth century. Alliances negotiated with local rules throughout the early modern period allowed merchants to siphon off captives from indigenous societies and trade networks. Even then, Europeans could not claim control over the region. As late as 1698, a Dutch factor at Elmina (present day Ghana) named William Bosman wrote that Europeans had always aimed for "dominion over the blacks; but never could accomplish their end, being hitherto hindered by their Intestine [*sic*] Divisions and Irregularities, or the villainous Nature of their Negroes, who having mostly fled from us on occasion of Crimes committed by them, have

---

[61] Immanuel Wallerstein wrote four volumes of *The Modern World-System,* but I am writing in regards to the first two volumes: *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the 16th Century* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1974) and *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1980). For the response from Africanists see David Eltis and Lawrence C. Jennings, "Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World in the Pre-Colonial Era," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (Oct., 1988): 936-959; A debate between Wallerstein and Steven J. Stern followed in the *American Historical Review*. See "Feudalism, Capitalism and World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," *American Historical Review* 93, no 4 (Oct. 1988): 829-72. Scholarship about the Indian Ocean World also rejects that Europeans were central movements towards global trade. See Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1989).

taken refuse under them."[62] Bosman's sentiments mirrored how Europeans felt about the Kalinago and Guiana Carib populations in the late-seventeenth century. Europeans were threatened when trading in indigenously-dominated coastal regions, at the whim of political systems and machinations that they never fully understood or controlled. While an entire region could not be controlled, individuals could be enslaved.

Caribana was a region where indigenous trade and territorial possessions determined the pattern of European settlements into specific enclaves. In the late seventeenth-century, Dominica, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia had only several European "families who live among" the thousands of Indians. These Indians were described, like Bosman's Guinea Africans as violent "savages" and "bowman." [63] Reports from both West Africa and Caribana thus stressed how threatened and insecure the Europeans in these regions were, although they managed to inflict violent atrocities against them. Europeans blamed their inability to achieve "dominion" on the savagery of the natives, despite the violence against large groups of people they committed. Europeans blamed their impotence on the capriciousness and menace of the natives rather than acknowledging their own relative weaknesses.

The inability to dominate the local populations provided justification for the slave trade, ironically, on the basis that these populations were participating freely. Europeans expanded both the trans-Atlantic slave trade and Indian slavery in Caribana on the basis of indigenous cooperation and the indigenous conflicts that produced captives. Caribana was first formed through pre-Columbian trade and migratory networks that stretched from Guiana north to the

---

[62] Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts* (London, England: Printed for James Knapton, 1705) 8.

[63]General Stapleton reported in 1672 that the Islands of St. Vincent, Dominica and St. Lucia had 1500 "bowmen" and 600 "negros"; from an "Account of General Stapleton from the Leeward Islands," 17 July 1672, BL, Egerton MSS 2395-525. An anonymous report in 1675 reiterates that Dominica is "only inhabited by Savvages"; from "The State of the Leewards" 13 January 1675, BL, Eg 2395-529.

Lesser Antilles, and included exchanges of captives. All groups within the Caribbean, whether designated Arawak or Carib, practiced captive-raiding and ritualistic cannibalism to some extent, although these practices were largely limited to periods of warfare. Archeological evidence shows that the distinguishing characteristic between the Arawaks of the Greater Antilles from the Caribs was their focus trade with outside groups, making them more hospitable to newcomers like the Spanish. The Kalinago, on the other hand, had a culture of ritualized warfare against those outside of their usual trade groups. Accordingly, the Kalinago treated the Spaniards as invaders and attacked, rather than welcomed, them.

Whether acquired through raids, trade exchanges, or war, Europeans conceived indigenous captives in both Caribana and West Africa as chattel for the slave trade. Captive raiding occurred in Western Africa, especially nomadic raiding in the borderlands between the Sahara and agricultural communities.[64] Although this raiding boosted European perceptions of African savagery, European merchants preferred to make treaties with West Africans kings to legitimize the selling of (previously enslaved) peoples from one nation to another.[65] When Richard Ligon explained how the English acquired African slaves to labor in Barbados, he said it was the fault of the "petty Kingdomes" in "Ginny and Binny, some from Cutchew, some from Angola, and some from the River of Gambia" where they "sell their Subjects, their Children, and sometimes their Wives . . . for such commodities as our Merchants send them."[66] For European merchants and colonists, then, justifying slavery meant assuring themselves that there was already an active slave trade within that indigenous culture, even relatively civilized ones, and

---

[64] Philip D. Curtin, "Senegambia: The Regional Perspective," *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975).

[65] Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance,* 93, 98.

[66] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 67.

that any slave brought to labor in the English, Dutch, or French Caribbean territory had already been a slave in their own country of origin.[67] The autonomy of these "petty kingdoms" helped merchants to-- rhetorically, at least-- shift the responsibility of enslavement from the castles and forts to the indigenous nations themselves.

Fernando Santos-Granero's *Vital Enemies* is the most recent book to emerge on captive slavery among indigenous people in the tropical regions of America. He makes the comparisons to indigenous, captive slavery in West Africa explicit. Santos-Granero summarizes the similarities between indigenous systems of captivity in both tropical native America and along the west coast of Africa. First, if a captive was not killed, they were eventually incorporated into societies. Second, neither the economic systems of Western Africa nor the Caribbean were based entirely on slave labor, unlike many European colonies that developed later in the Caribbean. Third, slaves were not "exploited" to the same extent as in western slave societies. Fourth, their status was not hereditary.[68] There were three different categories of slaves in Western Africa: slaves born into captivity that were assimilated into a master's household; royal slaves used for military or administrative purposes (mostly in the Islamic societies); and trade slaves who had been captured or purchased, who had no legal position, thus making them the most vulnerable to be sold to European merchants. In Senegambia, for instance, some trade slaves settled in the same slave villages, did the same labor, and had much the same lifestyle as free or native

---

[67] Charles Henry Alexandrowicz, *An Introduction to the History of the Law of Nations in the East Indies, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries* (Oxford, UK: Claredon Press, 1967).

[68] Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies: Slavery, Predation and the Amerindian Political Economy of Life* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009) 4. Santos-Granero relies on Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A history of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000) to draw his comparisons to West Africa. See also Whitehead, "Indigenous Slavery in South America, 1492-1820." Whitehead was one of the few scholars to respond to Wallerstein with an attention to indigenous trade systems in the Caribbean, but until the publication of this chapter and the influence of Santos-Granero's research, he resisted calling the captive systems practiced by Caribs "slavery."

peasants. Female trade slaves could become wives, after being concubines of their masters, without any sexual taboo. The children of slaves, although foreign, acquired the rights that distinguished them from captive trade slaves.[69] In Caribana, the social distinctions between captives assimilated into households were marked with clothing, or the lack thereof. For instance, captive women in Carib societies could not wear the girdles that free adult women did.[70]

These systems of captive slavery were central to European justifications for enslaving both West Africans and Caribbean Indians. "Caribana," a region created by indigenous people, but misinterpreted by colonists, was a space where Indian slave raiding and trading occurred without the censure of European governments throughout the seventeenth century. Caribana was a space of resistance to colonization where autonomy was preserved, even when other parts of the Caribbean suffered conquest and colonization. Europeans tried to locate Caribana in the physical geography of the Caribbean, but their efforts to pinpoint it on contemporary maps give the impression that Caribana, like the Carib peoples themselves, were constantly moving and reconfiguring themselves in response to the European entrance to their territories. European maps, although unreliable indicators of where Caribs actually lived, express the intangible fears and limits of European adventurers and settlers in the region who pressed themselves against Caribs. Maps, in combination with the archeological and historical record, represent how Caribana was constructed by both indigenous peoples and the imaginations of Europeans.

From the era of the Spanish conquest until the late-eighteenth century, indigenous forces challenged and constrained European settlement in the region. Initially, this resistance was

---

[69] Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 34-35.

[70] Du Tertre, *Histoire General* I: 395.

interpreted as evidence that certain Caribbean Indians were uncivilized and irredeemably savage. Europeans projected ancient ideas about uncivilized and barbaric people onto the physical geography of the Caribbean. For instance, Christopher Columbus transferred stories about the cannibalistic Scythians from the ancient Greek histories of Herodotus, substituting the Scythians with Caribs.[71] Journals from the journeys of Columbus and Vespucci circulated reports of cannibalism in Spain and throughout Europe. Although Queen Isabella hesitated to enslave potential subjects and converts to Christianity, she deemed that any Indians who rejected Spanish settlement and Christianity were "Caribs" and unfit to become Spanish subjects anyway. In 1503, she proclaimed that slaving activities, although prohibited against Indians in general, could proceed against Cannibals (this exception persisted throughout the sixteenth century, as we will see in Chapter 2).

In 1518, the Spanish monarchs asked Judge Rodrigo Figueroa to decide, based on the information of explorers who related stories of cannibalism and sodomy, where Caribs resided. Reports, steeped in myths and fantastical projections, became the basis for determining what Indians were exempt from Spanish prohibitions on Indian enslavement. Figueroa's judgments were highly susceptible to political pressure, especially as his judgments were issued contemporary to the discovery of mines and pearl fisheries off the coast of South America, projects that demanded more slaves. In 1520, Figueroa conveniently determined that Caribs resided in all the islands unoccupied by Castilians, except for Trinidad, Lucayos (Bahamas), Babados, the Giganties, and Margarita, where Spaniards preferred encomienda systems.[72] The mutability of the judgments made by Columbus, Vespucci, Isabella, and Figueroa eventually led

---

[71] Watson, *Insatiable Appetites*, 55-56.
[72] Van Deusen also notes that by the 1530s, the definition for Carib was so broad and geographically capacious that it no longer depended on residence in the circum-Caribbean, and *indios caribes* were found in Mexico, Argentina, Chile: *Global Indios*, 152.

to very capacious interpretations that the whole of the Lesser Antilles and the Guiana coast were Carib, or at least potential Carib.[73] Carib was as much of an imposed term as it was a self-identification (perhaps a corruption of the ethnic self-identifiers Kalinago, Karipuna, Karina, or Galibi). Consequently, Caribana is a region that is as much about the struggle for indigenous autonomy as it is about ethnicity or culture.

Indigenous Origins of Caribana

Before Columbus's voyages, the islands of the Caribbean and the coastal region of Guiana were populated by Native Americans all linked in a network of trade systems, marketplaces, and shared linguistics. Anthropologists Jonathon D. Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero refer to this cultural network as the "Arawakan Matrix." Although the aforementioned Spaniards differentiated the "Arawak" from the "Caribs" to signal receptiveness or resistance, respectively, to colonization, the dichotomy was overemphasized to encourage Carib enslavement.[74] The cultural imposition and negative stigma associated with this naming system was recognized as such in the mid-seventeenth century. French missionary Charles de Rochefort wrote that while the "Aroüagues" and "Caraïbes" might have once been part of warring factions,

---

[73] Neil L. Whitehead, "Carib Cannibalism: The Historical Evidence," *Journal de les société des Américanistes* 70, no.1 (1984) 71-72; Watson, *Insatiable Appetites,* 68-69.

[74] Jonathon D. Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero, "Introduction," *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language, Family and Culture Area in Amazonia,* Hill and Santos-Granero (eds) (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 37; For discussions of the origins of Arawak and Carib nomenclature, see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (New York, NY: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1986) 47; Neil L. Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering in Venezuela, the Guianas, and the Antilles, 1492-1820," *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 4 (Autumn 1990): 357–85; Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 6; Watson, *Insatiable Appetites,* 52-58.

they lived amongst each other under the name Carib, a name that serves as a "mark of infamy" to European visitors to the region.[75]

Anthropological research and archeological evidence reveal the first contours of Caribana. Both the Arawaks and Caribs had their origins in the Orinoco Basin (present day Venezuela) of Guiana, and all spoke an Arawak language. They were a highly mobile, seafaring people and planted the cultural seeds for peoples later known as the Taínos people of Hispañola and the Greater Antilles, and the island Caribs of the Lesser Antilles and the Arawak people who lived on Aruba, Bonaire, Curaço, Trinidad and Tobago.[76] A wave of Arawak-related people, called "Saladoid," left the Orinoco basin around 400 BC and traveled both west to Trinidad and as far north as Puerto Rico by the first century AD.[77] A second wave of Indians in the ceramic age, the Kalinago, migrated from the Orinoco around 200 BC, and continued through 1000 AD.[78] These people traveled northward from Guiana, extending from present-day (south-to-north) Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Saint Lucia, Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe (including Marie Galante), Montserrat, Antigua, all the way to St. Kitts and Nevis. From 600 AD to 1200 AD all the of the Caribbean islands were densely occupied, but cultural differences in

---

[75] "Personne pretend, & ne peut pretendre, avoi jamais esté sous la puissance des Aroüagues, & qui cependenant portent ce nom de Caraïbes. Que s'il y en a d'entr'eus qui se soyent rebellez contre d'autres souverains, s'étans dépuis reconciliez avec eus, & vivant encore aujourduy au milieu d'eus, sous ce nom de Caraïbes, ainsi que nous le verrons plus particulierement tantoost, il ny a nulle apparence, qu'il exprime des Rebelles, puisque ce leur seroit une flétrissure, & une marque d'infamie." De Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle,* 349.

[76] Hill and Santos-Granero "Introduction," *Comparative Arawakan Histories,* 15.

[77] Arie Boomert, "Between the Mainland and the Islands: The Amerindian Cultural Geography of Trinidad," *Bulletin of the Peabody Museum of Natural History* 50, no 1 (April 2009) 63-73: 66; Connie L. Hofman, Alistair J. Bright, Arie Boomert, and Sebastiaan Knippenberg, "The Web of Social Relationships and Interactions Networks in the Lesser Antillean Archipelago Between 400 B.C. and A.D. 1492," *Latin American Antiquity* 18 no 3 (2007): 243-268, 245.

[78] Peter L Drewett, *Amerindian Stories: An Archeology of Early Barbados*, (St. Michael Parish, Barbados: Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 2002) preface vi, 4; Hilary McD. Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation of the Caribbean," *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol 38, No 2/, Caribbean Quincentennial (June-September 1992) 1-14, 123-124.

the production of pottery began to emerge, separating Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands from the Lesser Antilles.[79] Further differentiation occurred between pottery and material artifacts found on Guadeloupe and its northern island neighbors of Antigua and Montserrat. It does not seem that any physical barrier prevented indigenous people from canoeing through the "Guadeloupe passage," but the people on the islands north of Guadeloupe might have traded more with Arawakan peoples of the Greater Antilles than the Kalinago who lived south of them.[80] The most readily identifiable boundary and "buffer zone" between the Arawak/Taínos and the Carib/Kalinago were the Virgin Islands, which Columbus and his contemporaries described as uninhabited at the time of their arrival.[81] I consider the Virgin Islands the northern boundary of Caribana.

Another cultural divide between the Arawak and Carib people occurs at the South American continental shelf. The island north of the Orinoco River Delta in Venezuela: Trinidad, Tobago, and further west Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao were the home to Arawak peoples on each. Spaniards also reported that the "Guyana Carib" lived on the Caroni River of Trinidad. Trinidad thus functioned as a way-station, transit point and trade point between the mixed cultures of Arawak and Carib on the mainland of South America and the Kalinago islands of the Lesser Antilles.[82] No Carib peoples lived on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, however, and the indigenous people there were closer relatives of the ones in coastal Venezuela.

---

[79] Hofman, et al., "Island Rhythms," 253.

[80] Richard T. Callaghan, "Crossing the Guadeloupe Passage in the Archaic Age," in *Island Shores, Distant Pasts: Archaeological and Biological Approaches to the Pre-Columbian Settlement of the Caribbean*, eds. Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Ann H. Ross (Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 2010); Hofman et al, "Island Rhythms," 244.

[81] Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies*, 19-20.

[82] Boomert, "Between the Mainland and the Islands."

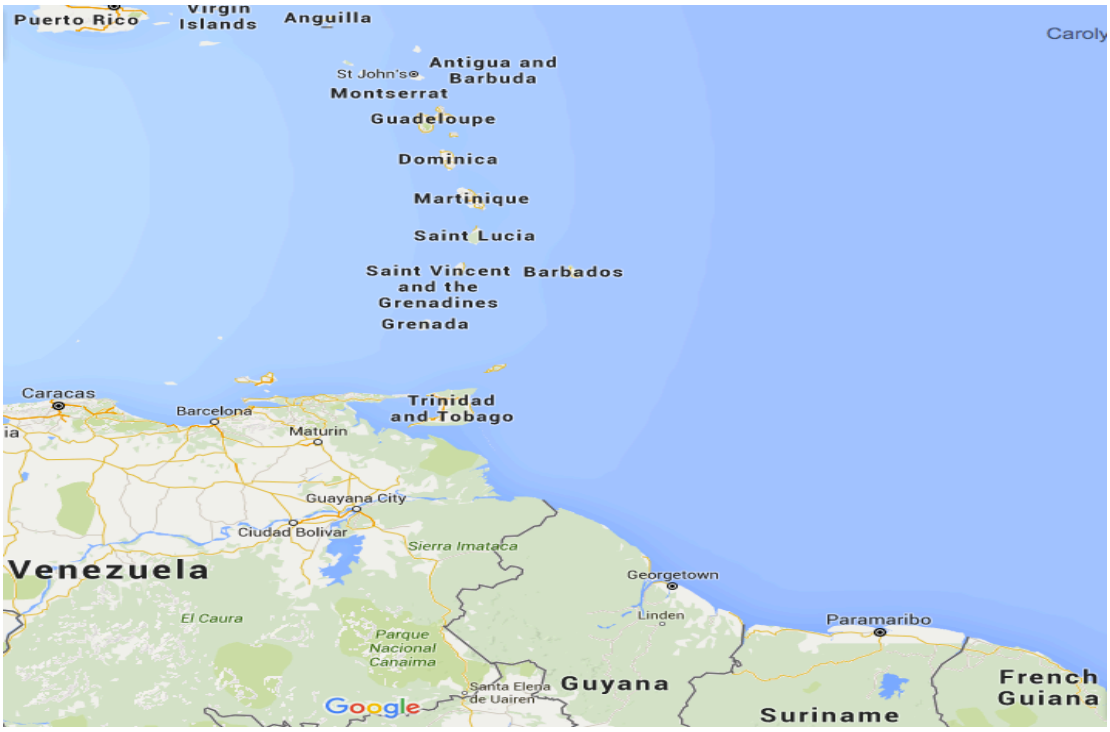


Figure 1: contemporary islands and nations that were once part of "Caribana"; the Orinoco River Delta is located just south of Trinidad, The Orinoco is the large river visible here that runs east-west through Venezuela. For a detailed map of the rivers further east of Caribana, see Appendix A. Map created through Google Maps.

From 1200 to 1492, all of the Arawak-speaking people continued to trade with one another, although particular styles of pottery, and frequency of trade, began to concentrate in sub-regions of the Caribbean. The shared styles of Cayo pottery in the Kalinago islands and the Koriabo style in Guiana provides one of the strongest pieces of evidence that these people continued to forge Carib cultural connections through trade and intermarriage. Exchanges occurred less frequently between Caribs and the Taínos of the Greater Antilles, judging from dissimilar pottery styles.[83] The connections among the islands of the southern Lesser Antilles, the Windward Islands of Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, Saint Vincent, and Grenada, were particularly strong and made up the heart of what would remain Caribana throughout the

[83] Boomert, "Island Carib archaeology," *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean,* Neil L. Whitehead, ed. (Leiden, NL: KITLV Press, 1995) 31; Hofman, et al, "Island Rhythms," 257-258.

seventeenth century. These islands were created from a volcanic islands chain. Axes made of volcanic rock from St. Vincent and St. Lucia have been found in Barbados, an island lying east to the Windward Islands structured out of sedimentary rock that collected on ridge in the Atlantic. These volcanic rock axes on Barbados, and axes made of other foreign materials such as diorite, rhyolite, and basalt either came as trade goods, or as part of gift exchanges and intermarriage between the indigenous islanders. These axes may have been brought as gifts or as a dowry for a bride.[84] Although these axes demonstrate that a population of indigenous people once lived on Barbados, it was a comparatively brief settlement. By the time of the Spanish conquest, there was no native population on the island. The first Barbadians may have fled to the Windward islands where they had previously established trade and inter-marriage relations. Equally probable, they may have died from disease or been captured in unrecorded raids.[85] Barbados, as will be elaborated upon Chapter 4, has thus always been an exceptional space with ties to, but not within, Caribana.

Language was another part of the shared culture in Caribana. The Island Caribs spoke a language related to the Arawak language, but considered separate as a "Cariban" language. It had two spoken registers: Kalinago for the men, and Karipuna for the women. The male-only Kalinago register was a function of long-distance trade networks. Chiefs of islands or regions within islands, usually the grandfather or great-grandfather of a number of inter-related families, spoke in a further elite register. [86] Seventeenth-century observers acknowledged how both the migration pattern and linguist roots of the Island Carib could be traced back to Guiana. English

---

[84] Drewett, *Amerindian Stories*, 11.

[85] Drewett, *Amerindian Stories*, vi.

[86] Hill and Santos-Granero, "The Arawakan Matrix," in *Arawak Histories,* 40; Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies*, 19.

Major John Scott wrote in 1665 that it was "beyond all controvercy that Guiana hath been time out of mind ye station of ye Carrebs, and all the Indians on the Island owe their originall from thence" which is why they "differ in Language" from each other only as much the "Inhabitants of the Islands of Jersey, Garnsey &ct doe from the Inhabitants of France."[87]

Guiana, like the Caribbean Islands of the Lesser and Great Antilles, had trade networks that incorporated both Arawak/Taínos and Carib/Kalinago groups. It was also a region of Carib mobility and colonization, spreading eastward from the Orinoco river along the Caribbean coastline, and eventually becoming the groups known, in the present day, as the Karinya of Venezuela, the Barima River Caribs in the Republic of Guyana, and the Galibi of Suriname and French Guiana. The Trio Indians inhabited a "buffer zone" between coastal areas and the Indians who resided in the interior.[88] The Orinoco provided a "backbone" of trade and migration that ran parallel to the northern Caribbean coastline, but tucked into the upland interior of the continent.[89] Although various Carib, Arawak related groups lived along the coast, many more resided in the interior, oriented towards the Orinoco River as the commercial center of the region. The Trio Indians who resided further south (upriver) on the Orinoco were known to trade with both the Lokono Arawak and Carib peoples who lived closer to the coast. The geographical position of the Orinoco thus protected it from European onslaughts on the coast. After their initial reconnoitering of Trinidad in 1498, however, Spaniards and others would sense that the interior

---

[87] Scott, "The Discription of Guiana." Scott makes these claims based on information from two great traders, one named Hendrickson who traded between the Dutch and the Caribs for 27 years, and the other Mattson, who traded between the Spanish at St. Thomé on the Orinoco and the Caribs for 22 years, who say that the Guianas have always been in the hands of the Caribs, the original text reads that "all the Indians on the Island owe their oridginall from thence."

[88] Eithne B. Carlin, *In the Shadow of the Tiger: The Amerindians of Suriname* (Amsterdam, NL: KITLV publishers, 2009) 16-17.

[89] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit,* 43, 54.

of the continent held both the largest indigenous population and most coveted trade goods. The Guyana Caribs, of the Caroni River in Trinidad, traded gold with Spaniards. The name for the region, "Guiana" derives from these Carib peoples.[90]

Although the island Carib developed a reputation for ruthlessness against the Arawak on the Caribbean islands, in Guiana it was the Lokono Arawaks who aggressively dominated trade along the Orinoco against rival indigenous groups.[91] There were five major (known) markets along the Orinoco, including Acamacari, which Walter Raleigh would cite as a place for captive exchanges. In addition to captives, these markets featured goods acquired through mining, harvest and manufacture. Women were particularly deft lapidaries, and jewelry made of jade and gold became major trade items. Forest products such as dyewoods changed hands, and annatto-derived paints were acquired for ceremonial purposes. Shell money called Quiripa lubricated dealings between Indian groups across the region and at least three distinct groups specialized in its manufacture.[92] For the various indigenous people who lived in Guiana, the Orinoco was not only a source of trade, but a major source of food; men fished the river using spears with poisoned-tips arrows, traded for in marketplaces along the river.

Fishing supplemented the agricultural activities of the people in the Orinoco watershed region. Whitehead estimates that the indigenous population of this area was at about 100,000 persons before recorded seventeenth-century epidemics.[93] These 100,000 people organized

---

[90] The Guayana Caribs of the Caroni River had traded gold with the Spaniards for many decades, which has fueled the rumors of "El Dorado." Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 10.

[91] Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering in Venezuela, the Guianas, and the Antilles, 1492-1820," *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 4 (Autumn 1990): 357–385.

[92] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 53-54.

[93] This includes the area between the Essequibo [Present day Republic of Guiana] and Sierra Imataca [Venezuela], Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit,* 40.

themselves in villages that numbered from the hundreds to thousands. In these villages, both the Lokono Arawaks and the Island Carib practiced swidden ("slash-and-burn") agriculture, and relied on planting bitter manioc root as their dietary starch, which women harvested and made into cassava flour and bread.[94] Carib and Arawak women also planted maize, squashes, beans, and manioc. European observers interpreted the cultural emphasis on female agricultural labor, while men fished and hunted, to mean that indigenous women were "as servants unto" their husbands and that their lives were harsh and demeaned. It is likely that these statements on women working in agriculture were only meant to reinforce European cultural superiority, rather than reflect the actual "drudgery" or treatment of indigenous women.[95]

Indigenous populations in Guiana used captives as agricultural laborers, especially when agriculture demanded a fixed site for crop production, such as harvesting corn on the floodplain region. The presence of captive agricultural labors in these indigenous societies provided justifications for Europeans who came to these regions and either traded or raided laborers shipped onward to Caribbean Island plantations. However, these captives, although relegated to difficult work, were not necessarily slaves. Arawak and Carib societies incorporated many captives, as "pets" or "gifts," into their communities. In Carib and Arawak societies, captives could be pets if the other members of that captive's family had been killed. If the captive was female, she could be integrated by marriage or concubinage, which bonded the two communities in a clear hierarchy (the captors marrying the captive as a sign on their dominance and

---

[94] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 44; Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies*, 19.

[95] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 24. This observation fits into the broader ethnographic trope of a Native American woman as the "squaw drudge" working while her indolent husband only hunts or fishes (considered leisure activities by Europeans). Historian David Smits has argued that colonists complaining about indolent Indian men and their hard-working wives solidified colonial opinions that indigenous populations as savage, and their land unimproved. However, Smits only focused on North America, and traced this trope to Jamestown. There is plenty of evidence that these tropes predated the settlement of Jamestown in the Caribbean. See Smits, "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index of Savagism," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 4 (1982): 281–306.

supremacy). Male pets were called *macos* if they were of Arawak origin and *poitos* if they were of Carib origin. The category *Macos/Poitos* has various interpretations, such as "son-in-law" (because of intermarriage), "client," "trade partner," or "servant." For both *macos* and *poitos*, the labor that they performed would be a kind of "obligatory assistance given by kin in a collective labor in agriculture or house-building, as well as daily labor in hunting, fishing, or tending agricultural fields." As a bride, a female captive might also be a human gift made to forge kinship between two different groups, gain intelligence from a rival, or encourage a trade relationship. [96] Men also forged kinship ties by offering their daughters or other young women to have sex with guests, a practice that shocked early Europeans in the region because it challenged sexual mores, but nevertheless helped forge ties between Europeans and indigenous people in Caribana.[97]

Forging ties between Amerindian groups was a major benefit of captive exchanges, but only after these captives had been sufficiently familiarized or tamed. The exchange of animals had a similar diplomatic function. Marcy Norton has recently examined the Carib category *iegue,* which included both animals and captive humans, who were eventually adopted or married into Carib societies. *Iegue*, according to Raymond Breton's *Dictionaire caraibe-françois (1665)* and *Dictionaire françois-caraibe* (1666), could be translated as "an animal whom one feeds" or "my animal."[98] Taming either a human or an animal *iegue* involved a series of ritualized activities: procurement (capturing); taming (endowing the captive with personhood through feeding,

---

[96] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 43-49, 60-61.

[97] Watson, *Insatiable Desires*, 73. This practice was also observed among indigenous people of the southwestern borderlands; see Julianna Barr, "A Diplomacy of Gender: Rituals of First Contact in the 'Land of Tejas'" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 61 no 3 (July 2004) 393-434.

[98] Quoted in Marcy Norton, "The Chicken or the *Iegue,*" 37-40.

dressing and singing to it); and anointing the *iegue* with annatto, a red dye used for beautification.[99]

In captivity, the regenerative aspects for tribes, especially ones who had lost their own members, could be through social rebirth of adoption, as seen above. Captivity could have similarly regenerative aspects through predation. Although it was possible that young captives would not be incorporated through adoption, adult men and boys could also be subjects of ritual death and cannibalism. In Kalinago society, it appears that most adult men taken in wars were killed immediately, but some were kept alive so that parts of them might be ritually consumed. These young male captives were initially castrated then lived within their captive society as slaves until their host society had a large feast that required the sacrifice of an enemy. This Kalinago practice of hosting a captive over a long period of time, known as "familiarizing predation," was motivated by a belief that ingesting a captive meant the consuming society took on their vital essence.[100]

The Rivers of Caribana: Imagined Conquests, Real Resistance

Guiana can be conceptualized as an island itself within the Caribbean, yet another circumscribed location between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers. [101] But more so than the waters of the Caribbean Sea, the rivers of the region (the Orinoco being only one of many) helped to ferry the traders, marriage partners, and settlers throughout the region (see Appendix A for map). From a distance in Europe, it was easy for explorers to map out their journeys on these rivers and

---

[99] Norton, "The Chicken or the Iegue," 46-51.

[100] Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies*, 49.

[101] Gerrit Bos, *Some Recoveries in Guiana Indian Ethnohistory*, Vol. 6. Anthropology Series. (Amsterdam, NL: Vrij Universiteit Uitgeverij, 1998), 14.

consider them as direct conduits for conquest rather than channels already contested by indigenous nations. The multiple encounters between European and Indigenous people in the Caribbean went very differently than imagined, however. In the late-sixteenth century, the Spanish experienced both the rejection of the Kalinago in the Lesser Antilles, and the blocking of the Caribs in Guiana, both groups preventing them from creating permanent settlements. By the late-seventeenth century, English and Dutch explorers and colonizers realized that these rivers were indigenous spaces first and foremost, rather than European highways of conquest, and they labeled the inaccessible interior of Guiana as "Caribana" on their maps. The Dutch called the Guiana region the *Wilde Cust,* after the *Wilden* (Indians) who resided there.[102] The regional names "Guiana" and "the Wild Coast" emerge from specific political contexts; yet, these terms are fixed in the physical geography between the Orinoco and Amazon. Caribana was not fixed to any particular landmarks or waterways, so the label is a better indication of where European-indigenous conflicts blocked explorers and colonists from entrance to a region already filled with indigenous conflict and competition.

Guiana was depicted as an empty *terra nullius* in the early-sixteenth century maps from Portuguese and Spanish cartographers (Figures 2 and 3). In the post-encounter seventeenth century, the interior of Guiana remained unknown, but cartographers instead filled the space with mythic place names and equally mythic, ferocious characters. The original depiction of emptiness was a short-sighted dismissal on the part of Spaniards and Portuguese who focused on the Greater Antilles and Brazil, respectively. Even the smaller islands of the Caribbean inhabited by Arawak people seemed unremarkable. For instance, during Columbus's voyage of 1498, Spaniards had dismissed the islands north of Venezuela, Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, as *islas*

[102] "De Wilde Kust was een gebied waar schippers geen last hadden van authoriteiten, het viel buiten de Europese invloedssfeer." Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 53.

inutiles despite having sizeable indigenous Arawak populations.[103] Although coasts and interior spaces remained threatening and mysterious throughout the period where colonists attempted to make settlements, rivers always appeared more clearly, as promising avenues where indigenous trade and navigators would lead Europeans to golden empires. Waterways were spaces where the English and Dutch literally and figuratively navigated indigenous space. Both historians Lauren Benton and Alida Metcalf have noted how rivers facilitated the inter-cultural interactions that eventually created the culture of colonial societies, however fraught.[104] The process of establishing colonial societies, as pockets in Guiana, would take the duration of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

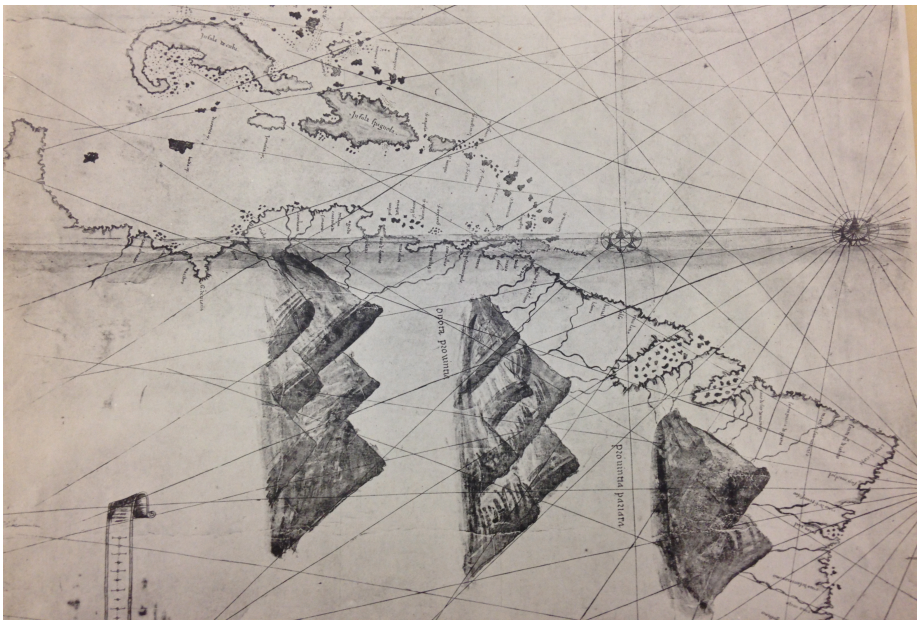


Figure 2: West Indies c 1503-1505, original in the Randolph Schuller Collection, Library of Congress Map Room

[103] Molly Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers in the Sixteenth Century Caribbean," *Slavery & Abolition* 31, no. 3 (September 2010): 345–62, 346-357.

[104] Alida Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1992), 27-29; Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

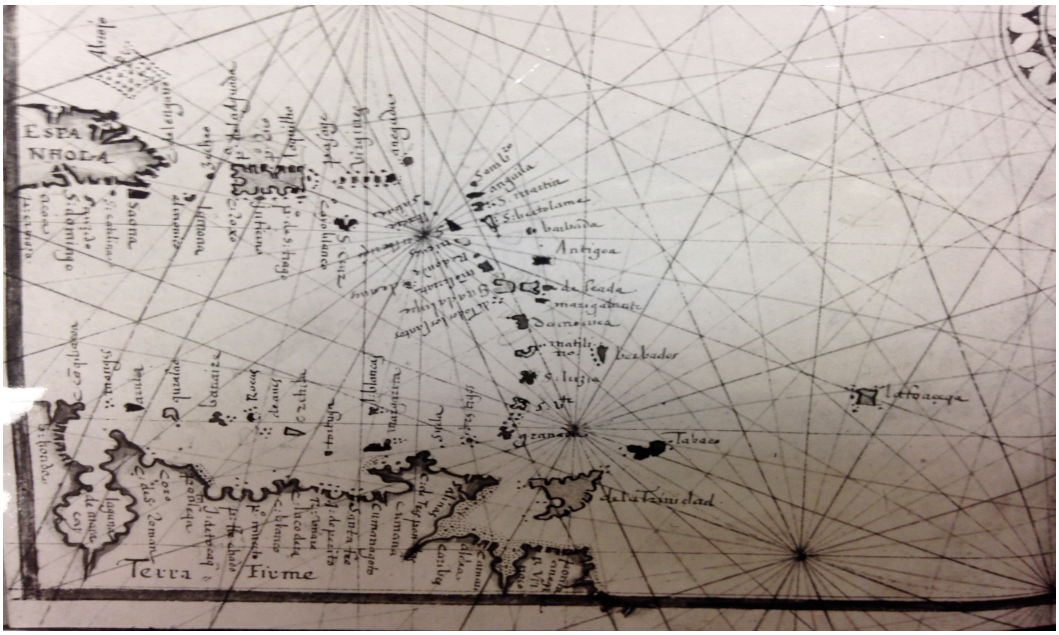


Figure 3: Portuguese Map of West Indies, 15??, Original location: Res.G.Ff 14409, Bibl.Nat. No 44, D. 387, Photograph in Library of Congress Map Room

After the initial conquest period in the Caribbean, Spanish dreams of finding empires with analogous government structures to European monarchies, which were also rich in mineral resources, finally manifested. In the 1530s, the descriptions that accompanied the conquests of the Inca and Aztec empires helped maps of South America become more detailed. European explorers, commissioned by Spain, England and France, believed more empires ripe for conquest might lie in the interior of South America. They began to plan voyages to the Amazon.[105] Explorers were especially keen to find a quick route to Peru, and potential imperial relatives of the Inca, to conquer or trade with. Following Spanish and Portuguese initiatives in South America, the English, Dutch, Irish, and French tried their hand at settlements on the Amazon from the early sixteenth century, and then only after eventual expulsion by the Portuguese did they focus on the other rivers of Guiana instead.

[105] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 4, 9.

Spaniards initially imagined the Amazon as a highway to El Dorado, but it became more important as a commercial waterway for trading for dyes and tobacco with the indigenous populations of Amazonia, just as the Orinoco was becoming a site of trade between the Spaniards and the Lokono Arawak. According to Major John Scott's history of Guiana, in 1530 Pedro de Acosta was "the first Christian that ever attempted to sett fotteing on Guiana," south of Orinoco, but he was expelled by the Indians and settled on Parima.[106] In 1531, Diego de Ordás left from Parime to take up further explorations of the Orinoco River. He saw an Arawak and a Warao villiage, and then captured a number of Caribs on the river. They told him that a province known as "Meta" with a large Carib settlement lay ahead. The province of Meta became associated with El Dorado, and de Ordás's voyage became a precedent for using the Orinoco as a potential conduit for finding a golden empire.[107] He also set a precedent for capturing Indians along the river for information. On the other side of Guiana, Francisco de Orellana was exploring the Amazon for a route to golden empires as well. The Amazon and the Orinoco had been sites for indigenous trade and competition, and they were quickly becoming sites for European competition as well.

In 1541, Sebastian Cabot commissioned a map of the world that included Spanish explorer Francisco de Orellana's Amazon voyages (Figures 4 and 5). [108] The map shows their hope that the Amazon would be a direct conduit to Cuzco, the seat of the Incan empire, and other gold-laden cities. Despite their failure to find El Dorado, Cabot's map does show a "Rio del Meta," leading into a group of mountains. Subsequent maps label this region as Manoa or El Dorado. Cabot's Rio del Meta, leading to the mysterious mountains, foreshadowed the intensive

[106] Scott, "The Description of Guiana."

[107] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit,* 13.

[108] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 2.

explorations of the Orinoco River as a route to El Dorado that followed the initial exploration of De Ordás. Walter Raleigh also sought access through the Orinoco, but the proximity to the Spaniards in Nueva Granada made the exploration and settlement of the Orinoco as vulnerable as the settlements on the Amazon.

Figure 4: Sébastien Cabot, *Mappemonde* (Anvers, 1544). Gravure aquarellée
BnF, département des Cartes et Plans, BnF, CPL GE AA-582 (RES)

Figure 5: Detail, *Mappemonde*, the Amazon is shown as a direct route to Peru; Rio de Meta leads to the mountains of "Meta," another name for the region of El Dorado.

The term Caribana itself does not seem to appear on maps until the decades preceding Walter Raleigh's first voyage to the region. The nomenclature seems to be a corruption of Spanish maps. The Flemish mapmaker Abraham Ortelius might have been the first to use "Caribana" to refer to a region of Cannibalistic people on his 1570 map of South America in *Typus Orbis Terrarium* (Figure 7). Ortelius used the Spanish Cartographer Diego Guitérrez's *Americae sive qvartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio* (1562) as a source, but seems to have conflated the label of the "Provincia de Caripana," which Guitérrez located above the Orinoco River, and the images of people being butchered and eaten, which Guitérrez placed in Brazil (Figure 6).[109]

[109] I thank my colleagues at Marcy Norton's Folger Library Seminar "Entangled Trajectories" for introducing me to this map. For Ortelius's sources for each portion of his Atlas, see Frans Koks, "Ortelius Atlas," Library of Congress. Accessed August 29, 2016, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gnrlort.html. An interaction version of Guitérrez's map is also located on the Library of Congress website <https://www.loc.gov/item/map49000970>.

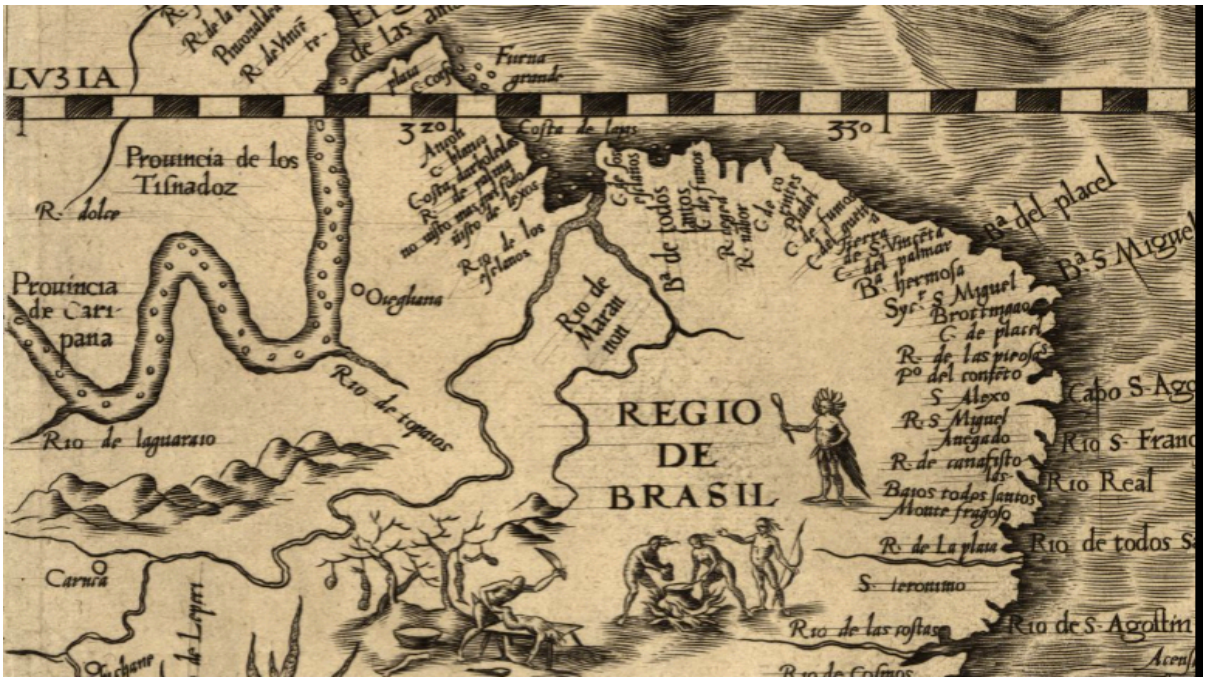


Figure 6: Detail from Diego Guitérrez, *Americae sive qvartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio* (Antwerp: 1562) Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress. "Provinica de Caripana" is located north of the Amazon River, on the far left of this detail. Scenes of violent Cannibalism are located south of the Amazon in "Brasil."

Figure 7: Abraham Ortelius, *Typuz Orbis Terrarium (*Antwerp: 1570), Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division. Caribana is still north of the Amazon River, but located much closer to the coast.

Theodor De Bry reinforced this blurring of locations and concepts in the 1594 *Occidentalis Americae Partis* (Figure 8). De Bry worked in England in the 1580s and was encouraged by Richard Hakluyt and members of Walter Raleigh's circle to make his collection prior to Raleigh's voyage.[110]

Figure 8: Detail of Theodor De Bry, *Occidentales Americae* (Leiden: 1594).

In 1599, the printmaker Jodicus Hondius yet again used the nomenclature "Caribana." He wrote, in the maps title plate, that it was based the locations on Raleigh's *The Discoverie of Guiana* (1595) *(*Figure 9).[111] Despite Hondius's plaque, historian Lodewijk Hulsman points out

---

[110] Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages 1590-1634* (London, UK and Boston, MA: Brill, 2008) 113.

[111] "Nieuwe Caerte van het wonderbaer ende goudrijke landt Guiana , gele gen onder de Linie Aequinoctiael, tusschen Brasilien ende Peru: nieuwelick besocht door Sir Water [sic] Ralegh Ridder van Engelandt, in het jaer 1594.95 ende 1596. De Custen van dese caerte, sijn seer vlietich geteekent op haere hooghten ende waere streckingen, door een seker stierman die dit selve beseilt ende besocht heeft, inde jaren voornomt. De binnen Provincien, syn door groote moyte getrocken, uit beyde de boexkens, die door ende by laste van Ralegh voorseit, int

that Hondius based his map on the observations of William Bowne, the first mate of Keymis, and that most of the names are learned from Keymis's Yao Indian guide.[112]

Figure 9: Jodicus Hondius, *Nieuwe Caerte. . .* 1599, Bijzonder Collecties, Universiteit van Amsterdam. Here, Caribana appears north of the Orinoco River within present-day Venezuela. Guiana is introduced as a separate location, replacing Caribana as the region just north of the Amazon River.

The location of Caribana is inconsistent on these maps, and in the sources these maps derive from. Despite the large impact his text seems to have made on cartographers, Raleigh only made one reference to "Caribana" and another singular reference to "Caripana" in his text. The first reference is in a paragraph asserting that Guiana has much more gold than Peru, and that if

licht gegeven sijn." Hondius, Jodocus. "Nieuwe Caerte van Het Wonderbaer Ende Goudrijke Landt Guiana," 1599. Bijzondere Collecties, University of Amsterdam.

[112] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 53.

Raleigh and his men can "take the ports and villages within the bay of Uraba in the kingdom or rivers of Darien and Caribana, the cities and towns of St. Juan de Rodas . . .etc." they will "have gold enough to pay the king's part, and are not easily invaded by way of the ocean." The second reference is not to a "kingdom or river," but "an ancient king, called Carapana" near the mouth of the Orinoco River, whom Raleigh consulted to find passage in Guiana (this is probably the same "Provincia de Carapana" mentioned in Guitérrez's map, derived from the same Spanish information that Raleigh received).[113] Although originally a place location, the nomenclature Caribana became a warning about entering into an unknown and potentially dangerous territory. It is also where we see adventurers to the region express their utter dependence on friendly Indians to guide them, translate for them, and teach them the prevalent culture of trade and diplomacy that facilitated their voyages through unknown dangers. On maps made after Raleigh's voyage, Caribana, might be not only an expression of Europeans' fearfulness of the Caribs, but the *Yaos'* antagonistic relationship with the Caribs. This mirrors the way that the name "Carib," in the first place, emerged from Columbus's interpretation of the Tainos Indians' antagonism towards the Kalinago.

Spaniards reported their fear of Cannibals and condemned their "barbarous" practices, such as buying and selling their supposed relatives (a misunderstanding of indigenous captive slavery practices). Raleigh deemed the Spaniards equally barbaric (and, implicitly, hypocritical) for participating in the trade and buying Indian slaves. In Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, he described a market for captive labor between the Caris and Limon Rivers in the lower Orinoco, which served the larger Arawak and Carib trade network and also furnished Europeans with slaves in the Antilles. Raleigh wrote that between the Caris and Limo river, there was "a great

[113] The references I found manually were checked against a general text search of Project Gutenberg's online text of Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana.*

nation of Cannibals, and their chief town beareth the name of the river and is called Acamacari. At this town is a continual market of women for three or four hatchets apiece; they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies."[114] Hondius depicted Acamacari within Caribana on the North West side of the Oronoco River (Figures 9 and 10). He also wrote that the Spanish bought slaves from both Carib and Arawak groups living on the Barima, Pomeroon and Essequibo Rivers to the east of the Orinoco. He related that the Spaniards would then send them to the island of Margarita, presumably to work in bustling pearl fishing industry there:

> Among manie other trades those Spaniards . . .there buie women and children from the Caribals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for 3. Or 4. Hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more even their own daughters: hereof the Spaniards make great profit, for buying a maid of 12 or 13. Yeeres for three or fower hatchets, they sell them againe at Marquerita in the west indies for 50 or 100 pesos, which is so many crownes.[115]

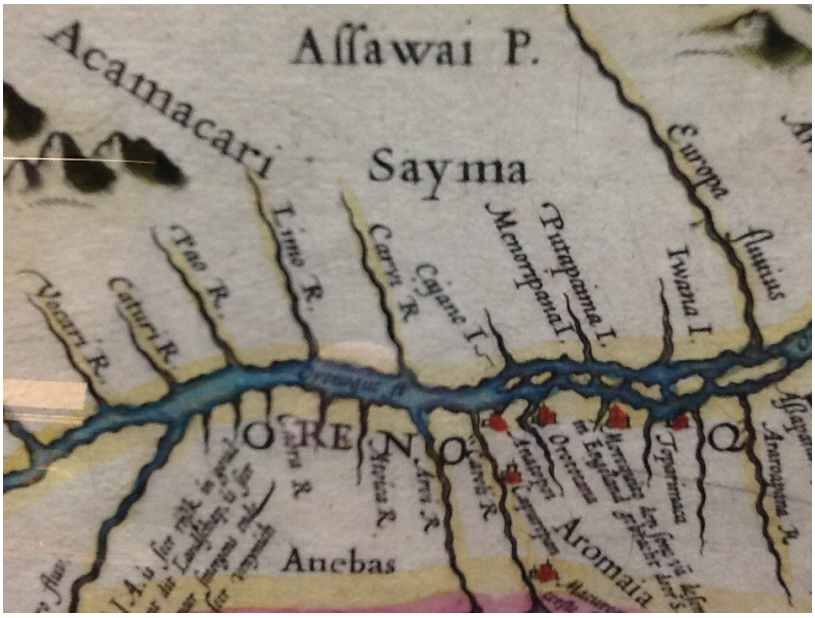


Figure 10: "Acamacari" detail of Jodicus Hondius, *Nieuwe Caerte*, 1599.

---

[114] Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana,* Schmidt (ed), 94.

[115] Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana,* Whitehead (ed); the reference to Spanish slaving on the "Barema, Pawroma, and Dissequebe" can be found on page 153; reference to "Cari" and "Limo" River slave market on 179.

After Raleigh's voyage, the rivers between the Orinoco and Amazon tantalized explorers for their potential as access points to the interior. Neither Raleigh, nor the other English and Dutch explorers who came to Guiana, succeeded in finding El Dorado or any other wealthy, centralized indigenous empire. However, they found inhabited rivers, which would become anchor points for English and Dutch trade with indigenous people in the Caribbean, especially the Essequibo. English explorers Lawrence Keymis, Raleigh's Lieutenant, and Robert Harcourt, who later tried to settled the Wiapoco (Oyapok River in present-day French Guiana), both created charts of the region where they list Guiana's rivers and the tribes that inhabited each one (See Appendix B and C). These tribes on the Orinoco side of Guiana had successfully resisted Spanish intrusion from Nueva Granada, and the tribes on the Amazon side had avoided their demise through Portuguese *entradas* from Brazil. Both Keymis and Harcourt show that Caribs and Arawaks often occupied the same waterways, despite (or perhaps adding to) reported tensions between them. Caribana was not an exclusively Carib space; a variety of other Indian nations lived in the same region, but seem to have disappeared by Harcourt visit in 1609. For instance, on one of the busiest waterways for trade and settlement, the Essequibo ("Dessekebe"), Keymis identified that the "Iaos, Shebaios, Arwaccas, Charibes, Maripaiwocowaios, Parawianni, Iwarewakeri" lived on the river and its tributaries. Harcourt, visiting fifteen years after Keymis wrote that only "Arwaccas and Charibes" lived on "Dessequebe." Along with the Arawak and Carib, Harcourt only identifies three other tribes living between the Amazon and the Essequibo: the Yaos, Arracoories, and Paragotos. Although some of the variance between Keymis and Harcourt's charts might be simply errors of translation and identification, the major reason why so many tribes seem to have disappeared in the intervening fifteen years was that the smaller and less powerful tribes consolidated when faced with the dominance of the Lokono Arawak

attacking from the Orinoco region, especially combined with the Spanish allies who buttressed the Lokono to gain entrance themselves. The Carib alliance successfully prevented the Spanish from creating permanent fortifications farther east than the Orinoco. Sources from the later seventeenth century thus identify all of these consolidated tribes as the "Caribs."[116] The Yaos remained distinct because of their antagonism to the Caribs.[117]

The Europeans who came to Guiana in the late-sixteenth century promised to aid the Caribs in winning back trading power.[118] It was not the Caribs, however, but the Yao people, who were initially the most receptive to European entrance. They appeared to have benefited the most from trade and military alliance with European newcomers. The Dutch and English brought both the Yao and Carib groups goods such as machetes, guns, knives, and mirrors.[119] In exchange, these tribes accepted their presence near the coast, and in some cases, actively taught colonists how to plant tobacco, annatto, and other native plants, possibly even sugar.[120] These indigenous trade networks were not commercialized markets in the European sense; natives

---

[116] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 17; Peter Hulme writes that it is tempting to see the Caribbean as space where Europeans simply mapped their ideas of Barbarity onto the Caribs, they were also clearly influenced by real tensions between the Arawaks and their enemy Caribs, *Colonial Encounters,* 19, 47.

[117] Harcourt, *The Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 15-21. See Chapter 3 "Guiana" for more for European alliances with the Yao and Carib.

[118] Hulsman, “Nederlands Amazonia"; For Raleigh discussing Peter Mucheron's Flemish trading vessels being on the Guiana coast at the same time as Walter Raleigh, see Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana* (Whitehead, ed), 179.

[119] Account books from the Dutch trading posts on the present-day river Pomeroon in the Republic of Guyana from the late seventeenth century show records of such goods: "British Guiana, Dutch Association Papers, Bouroma Colony Papers," c. 1686, TNA, CO 116/18, fol 20-43. See also

[120] The narratives of this period mostly mention sugar for its potential in the region. Harcourt writes that it grows well in Guiana, much better than "under the Spaniards in Barbary" because the heat is more tolerable and the sugar canes grow within 10 months of being planted. Harcourt estimates that the canes would only need to be replanted every 4 or 5 years, instead of every year like in Barbary. Furthermore, the wood needed to burn and boil the sugar is readily available, unlike in other more arid places**:** Harcourt, *The Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 42-43. It is debatable whether the Indians in Guiana actually shared their sugar-production knowledge with Europeans for the benefit of Plantation agriculture, however. Russell Menard discusses various origin-stories, including sugar's possible origins in Guiana, in *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2006) 16.

considered the bonds of reciprocity or domination present in the gift exchange more permanent relationships. Whitehead has sharply contrasted the indigenous understanding of a gift exchange rendering mutual obligations towards one another, to Europeans' perceptions of trade as a one-time exchange that did not necessary forge a relationship. [121] However, this distinction is not particularly useful, as the Europeans who entered Caribana sought alliances and permanent positions within the region much more than their indigenous trade partners. The narratives of adventurers to Guiana do not bear out such a dichotomy between the gift-giving Indians and proto-capitalistic Europeans. Furthermore, by the time of Walter Raleigh's arrival at the Orinoco River, Europeans and Indians had been encountering one another for almost one hundred years prior in the Caribbean, introducing one another to the ways that trade has multiple meanings for both parties. The trade and information networks established throughout Caribana would have alerted the indigenous nations of the trade practices of European merchants. Just as Europeans would have used trade to form alliances and gain items to sell back in Europe, the Caribs were probably interested in war matériel to fight their rivals as well as gaining more men to back them.

The adventurers who came to this region both coveted alliances with indigenous people, and feared the entanglements that these alliances produced. If Caribana was a nomenclature that expressed European anxiety about encountering indigenous people, then Guiana was a region of hope. Raleigh's *Discovery* put Guiana, quite literally, on the map. De Bry's 1594 map of the New World had placed Caribana in the mountains of the South American interior, but there was no place on the continent called "Guiana." Although the name was derived from the Guyana Caribs, who traded gold with the Spaniards, Walter Raleigh popularized the name in the English

---

[121] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 55.

language as a short-hand for the region between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers (Keymis also tried to popularize calling the Orinoco "Raleana," but that nomenclature never caught on). The description of Guiana in Raleigh's account lent itself to associating Guiana with a gap in the political authorities of the Spanish in Nueva Granada and the Portuguese in Brazil. It became a space for Englishmen, and whoever else might try, to claim land from indigenous empires that were rich in natural and mineral resources, particularly gold. However, Caribana, on both De Bry and Hondius's maps, reminds us that the gap in European authority was not a gap in indigenous authority. This was an unknown space, where fears of indigenous peoples comingled with mythic projections. Hondius depicted Manoa on his map, resting above a body of water called "Lake Parime" that does not have a contemporary analog. Just as Columbus projected Herodotus's myth about Cannibalistic Scythians and Amazons in the Lesser Antilles, Hondius would do the same in Guiana. Columbus said that the Kalinago, like the Scythians, would mate once a year with the fierce women warriors of "Matinino" (Martinique); "male children were returned to their Carib fathers, and female children were raised by the women."[122] On Hondius's map, Amazons appear again, but he locates the women along the Amazon River itself, separated from Caribana with the considerable space of Guiana in between.

Although no one has ever found Manoa, El Dorado, Lake Parime, or the Amazons depicted on Hondius's map, Dutch anthropologist Gerrit Bos cautions us not to dismiss all the information presented in Raleigh's account, especially of geographical landmarks given by indigenous informants. He argues that indigenous informants were motivated to maintain alliances with the English, so deceitful attempts were designed as much to keep the English military forces with them as it was to distract them from activities in currently-settled

---

[122] Watson, *Insatiable Appetites*, 55-56.

locations.[123] English sources, of course, also assure us that even if Raleigh did not find a sovereign or gold mines, that the collaboration between the Indian caciques of Guiana and Raleigh was a success. The marker Caribana, lingering on the maps of the region, is an indication of the successes of indigenous resistance to colonization, and the failures of European adventurers to carve out spaces for successful long-term settlements between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, which will be detailed throughout this dissertation.

The Constriction of Caribana: A Timeline of Colonization

Settlements in Guiana were always threatened, and often destroyed, by indigenous actors (sometimes with Spanish allies) in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. This period saw a reversal in fortune for those Caribs who had, previously, remained autonomous on the islands of Caribana. Aggressive colonial attempts in the Lesser Antilles came after European demand raised tobacco prices for that crop in the 1620s.[124] Until then, European settlers were a small vulnerable population that shared islands with the Kalinago for trade. For instance, the English came to St. Christophers (St. Kitts) in 1623, followed by the French in 1625. These unobtrustive colonial populations turned into dominating and lethal presences the following year, however, massacring the Kalinago population in 1626. Englishmen then colonized nearby Nevis in 1638, and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. The French and Dutch came to St. Martin in 1631, and the French populated Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1635. This new wave of European conquests on the islands of Caribana indicated that Caribana itself was shifting southward, more

---

[123] Gerrit Bos, *Some Recoveries in Guiana Indian Ethnohistory*. Vol. 6. Anthropology Series. (Amsterdam, NL: Vrij Universiteit Uitgeverij, 1998) 16.

[124] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 31.

oriented towards the original land of the Caribs in South America. At the height of the tobacco boom in 1635, Cartographer Willem Jaenzoon Blaeu, based in Amsterdam, used the label Caribana on the South American continent on his world map. In an interesting derivation, however, he placed Caribana closer to the Amazon river, rather than north of the Orinoco as Hondius had done. This perhaps reflected the historical reality that it was this space, further in the interior of Guiana, that was the new stronghold for indigenous actors (Figures 11 and 12).

Figure 11: Willem Janszoon Blaeu: *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula*. Amsterdam: 1635.

Figure 12: Detail of Blaeu, *Nova Totius,* 1635. On this map, "Caribana" is located east of "Guiana," and just north of the Amazon River. Blaeu also continued to include Lake Parime and Manoa, suggesting that he consulted Hondius's map as a source.

During the mid-seventeenth century, the sugar boom amplified the aggressive colonization that had followed the experimental tobacco era. By the 1650s, the French had taken Grenada, the island furthest south in the chain inhabited by the Kalinago. English sailor Henry Whistler took a snapshot of these changing demographics as he accompanied Admiral William Penn on a voyage from Barbados en route to their conquest of Jamaica. Colonization had not destroyed Caribana per se, but was chipping away at it with new creole spaces. Heading north and passing Martinique in 1654, he noted that the island was "inhabited with Inyons and french: thay live very comfortable, together and doe mary the one the other very often." Some islands were still firmly in Caribana after rejecting colonization and its attendant violence. On St. Lucia, the English and French had made multiple attempts to take the islands, each stymed by the Kalinago, especially after "attempts on Carib women."[125] Whistler wrote that "this illand wose

[125] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 37.

inhabited by our Inglish: but thay ware cut ofe by the Indons and sume ffrench soe that now thare is noe inhabitants."[126] Despite Whistler's impression that the French and Indians got along well with each other on Martinique, by the 1650s many of the Kalinago from there and Guadeloupe had relocated to St. Vincent and Dominica.[127]

Dominica's population, according to Whistler, was entirely Indians, who shot at their ship with bows and arrows as they passed the island.[128] Around 1657, another Englishman and his crew approached the "Native Caribees of Dominico an St. Vincent" to learn their methods for predicting hurricanes. The Caribs were rightly mistrustful of the crew and had drawn their bows upon meeting them. The English hurricane-prognosticators assured the Caribs that they didn't want to hurt them, and that they should join them on the English ship. Some of the Kalinago came abroad and drank the liquor offered to them. The English then set sail once the Indians aboard "were all very Drunke" and had fallen asleep. When the Indians had awoken, the English had already shoved off from Dominica. Although the author states that his intent was "not to Carry them away, or to take away their lives, but to make the sensible of our english clemency in not takeing advantages as they did on our People." In his mind, the ongoing hostilities between the Island Carib and English had given him the right to take them as slaves, and he considered it an act of mercy to merely kidnap them for their knowledge of the weather. Some of the Indians escaped from the English ship, and chiefs from Dominica followed it in order to make a treaty with the English. Three Caribs stayed on board as hostages until the peace could be concluded. While the Carib pirogues pursued the English to Nevis, the "master of another ship seized upon

---

[126] Henry Whistler, "A Jornall of a Voyadg from Stokes Bay: and Intened By gods asistant for the West Inga and performed by the Rigt Honorable Generall Penn: Admirall," 1654, BL, Sloane Ms. 3926.

[127] Santos-Granero, *Vital Enemies*, 21.

[128] Whistler, "A Jornall of a Voyadg from Stokes Bay."

them, and would have made slaves of them, had not I made Interest wth the Governor of St. Christopher." After the English and Dominica Caribs made a treaty, the author writes that "one of the three hostages," whom he calls Nicholas, "would not returne back wth his kindred, but told them that as I was so noble to give him, and soe many of his fiends their lives, hee would spend his life in my service as he did." Nicholas then spent four years with him, imparting his knowledge of hurricane prediction, before dying in Southwark (England).[129]

The narrator's arrogance, especially proclaiming his deceitful kidnapping of indigenous people as comparative "clemency," should make us suspicious that Nicholas actually stayed with him of his own free will. In the next chapters, we will see how English and Dutch voyageurs used the "service" of Indians, freely and unfreely given, as a marker of their allegience. However, Nicholas's cultural background might have prepared him for something analogous to English service, provided it meant inclusion rather than alienation from his captor society. Caribana was originally constructed as a space where such captivity, along with long-distance seafaring, broad trade networks, and other trans-cultural experiences, were normal. Many Native Americans had traveled across the Atlantic before Nicholas, both freely and as captives, and shared their indigenous knowledge for the benefit of colonial societies.[130] Even if Nicholas was not particularly grateful for his kidnapping, he was at least prepared to assimilate into a sort of sea-faring, trans-Atlantic captor society. On the other hand, the story of Nicholas highlights the double-edged sword of military resistance in Caribana. It preserved collective autonomy, but it also became a vulnerability to an individual Carib's autonomy if he or she were captured by a

[129] Anonymous, "Concerning Hurricanes and their Prognosticks & observations of my owne experience thereupon," c.1661, BL Egerton Ms. 2395 fol 619.

[130] There are a couple of recent titles on Native Americans, with comprehensive examples of those who moved throughout the Atlantic of their own accord as interpreters, diplomats, or as part of their employment, such as in fishing and whaling industries. See Vaughn, *Transatlantic Encounters* and Weaver, *The Red Atlantic.*

slave trader, rather than a chauvinistic scientist. The permanent loss of autonomy as a slave, whose purpose was to labor without inclusion in his captor society, would have been indeed been departure from the variety of experiences that were normal in Caribana.

On the South-American continent, Caribana persisted throughout the seventeenth century, both in the reality of Carib military power, and in European conceptions of the region. In the 1670 map created by Nicholaas Visscher, the nomenclature "Guiana" had once more disappeared in favor of colonial nomenclature, i.e. "Suriname," for the region surrounding the river. The names of local colonial settlers "English" and "Dutch" are also on the map instead of "Guaina," but the term Caribana remained (Figure 13). Interestingly, Caribana on this map was even closer to the coast than on previous maps. This may express how Dutch colonists, finally demonstrating lasting power within a largely indigenous space, nevertheless felt more constrained than ever by the power of local Indian tribes, especially the Caribs who had just fought against them in the second Anglo-Dutch War (see Chapter 6).

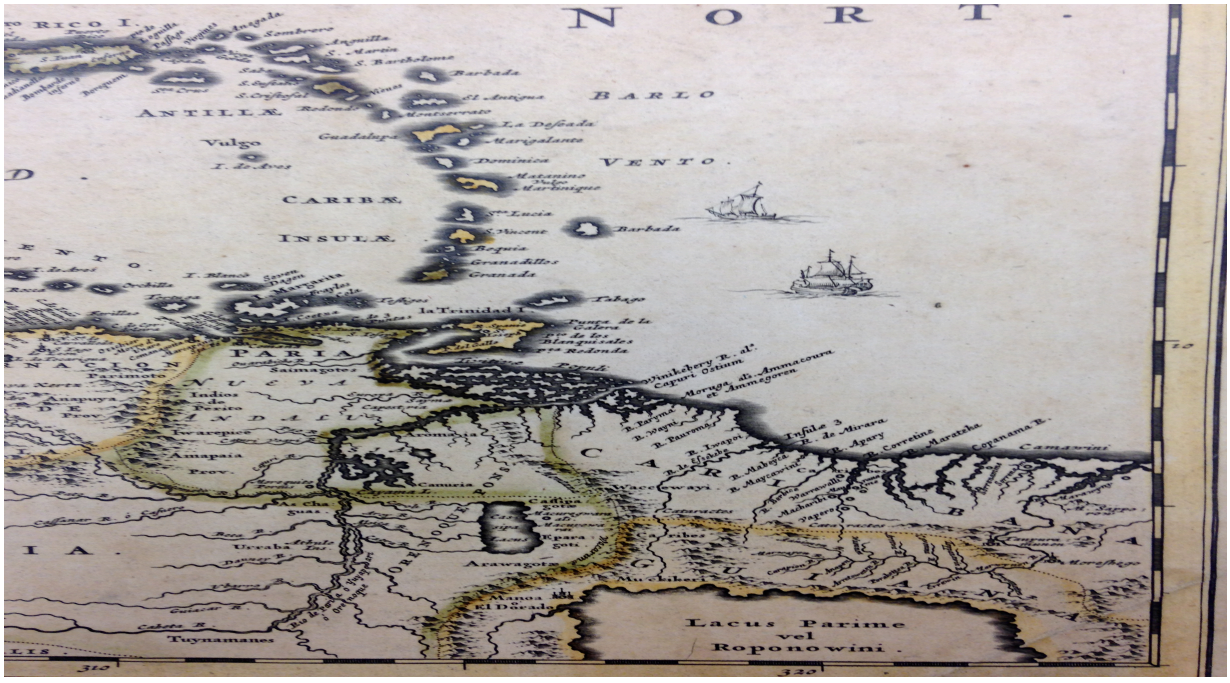


Figure 13: Nicholar Visscher, detail *Insulae Americanae in Oceano Septentrionali ac Regiones Adiacentes*, 1670, Library of Congress Map Room. Visscher locates Caribana closer to the coast than his predecessors, appearing to replace the location "Guiana" between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers that others used. Also note that the mythic, large Lake Parime remains from Hondius's map.

In the eighteenth century, the pockets of territories where Caribbean natives beat back European invasions were shrinking, but they still stretched across the Caribbean. Judging from the maps alone, it would seem that a more colonial mindset had taken over, however, as Caribana largely disappears. Herman Moll's eighteenth-century map replaced large portions of the interior with the colonial name of the coastal region, "Suriname" containing "English and Dutch" and the interior of the continent is called "Guiana," a word with similar connotations of English dreams of conquest. Each of the Caribbean islands on Moll's map is neatly labeled with a different European national group, erasing Kalinago claims to the territory in European imaginations, and indeed any Kalinago people that still resided on those islands (Figure 14). The dissolution of Caribana in the eighteenth century is echoed in scholarly literature. Neil Whitehead argued that the "Conquest of Caribana" occurred when the Spanish advanced into the Orinoco region in 1720, and the Caribs on that river resisted for fifty years, until they were finally "crushed" in 1760.[131] Moll and Whitehead's interpretations of "Caribana," are both more limited to the idea of a physical, regional territory that Caribs. In the less geographically-determined concept I've outlined here, "Caribana" is any space where Carib and Kalinago autonomy continued to challenge or limit colonial ambitions. Caribana undeniably persisted in both Guiana and the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean. Carib peoples formed treaties and assurances from the Dutch in Guiana of their autonomy, even along the Suriname and Essequibo Rivers where the English and Dutch had successfully settled for the longest time periods. The

[131] Whitehead, "The Conquest of Caribana: 1700-1771," in *Lords of the Tiger Spirit,* 106-129.

Kalinago remained on St. Vincent and Dominica through a series of treaties with the English and French. In the Seven Years War, the English won this territory (from the French, not the Kalinago) and promised English planters that they would also grant them land on St. Vincent. These events led to the two Carib wars of 1772-1773 and 1795-1796.[132] These late dates, three hundred years after the first attempted European conquest of the Caribbean, show the persistence of indigenous resistence that characterized Caribana, even if European empires had more confidence in their ability to destroy it.

Figure 14: Detail, Herman Moll, *Map of the West Indies, 17--?,* Library of Congress Map Room.

[132] Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, 226.

Part I: Navigators
Chapter 2: Europe

Introduction

English, Dutch and French sources from the late-sixteenth and seventeenth century obscured the extent of Indian slavery in their colonies. This chapter will demonstrate how this obfuscation developed in response to Iberian precedents of abusing indigenous labor and importing Indian slaves from around the Caribbean to work in pearl fisheries, mines, and plantations. These abuses first sparked commentary and debate within Spain itself; jurists, academics, and monks debated whether the enslavement of Indians, whom they were supposed to convert, undermined their claims to dominion over the New World. Ultimately, numerous laws and ordinances were passed, in theory, to forbid Indian slavery. While the laws and royal rhetoric were effective at creating taboos on the practice of Indian enslavement, loopholes continued to be exploited, and Indians continued to be enslaved. These loopholes, furthermore, perpetuated stereotypes about indigenous peoples, especially Caribs. Although the English, Dutch, and French did not explicitly or legally ban Indian slavery to echo these laws, they expressed the understanding that wanton abuses of indigenous laborers would similarly erode their claim to territories in the Americas. Sources written in response to the Spanish conquest thus developed a rhetorical commitment to alliance and fair treatment of Indians to justify taking territory in the New World. While English, Dutch and French writers bristled at the coercive labor practices of the Spanish, their countrymen nevertheless repeated Spanish justifications for enslaving cannibals. Regardless of the colonizing nation, stereotypes about Carib savagery persisted.

This chapter shows the influence of Spanish precedents on the narratives of Englishmen Raleigh, Keymis and Harcourt, the plans of strategists such as the Willem Usselincx of the

Netherlands, and the histories of the Caribbean written by French missionaries Jean Baptise du Tertre and Charles de Rochefort. This chapter also establishes that these accounts are not reliable indicators of the extent of Indian slavery because they consciously diminish the role of Indian slaves and repeat assurances that Indian slavery was a Spanish practice that would not be replicated (at least, on a grand scale) under English, French, or Dutch rule.

Robert Harcourt's narrative of his 1609 journey to Guiana provides a good example of the dual pull for Englishmen to emulate, and also abrogate, Spanish practices vis-a-vis Indians in the New World. Harcourt invokes both the glory of small bands of conquistadors toppling empires, and the horror of bloody wars committed against the Indians (known in seventeenth-century Europe as the "Black Legend"). Harcourt thought that Englishmen should "increase and inlarge the Dominion of our Soveraigne" at the expense of the Spanish, who had already "conquered and subdued spacious and rich provinces." But that Englishmen should "looke into the discoveries and conquests, performed by the Spaniards" Cortez and Pizzaro so Englishmen "may the better be encouraged in this enterprise, by examples of the like nature." Harcourt encouraged his readers to consult Peter Martyr and Joseph Acosta for the histories of Spanish conquest, and meditate on their greatest accomplishments being the conversion of the native people to Christianity.[133] Despite his admiration for the Spanish, however, Harcourt understood that Spanish aggression destroyed Spanish alliances with indigenous communities. Harcourt considered this a "singular advantage" of the English over the Spanish "to further, and advance our enterprise, by the particular love and affection of the people in those parts, towards our Nation before all others. For whereas the Spaniards were constrained by great labour, bloudy battailes, and much cruelty (for which they lost their hearts) to subdue the Indians; wee contrariwise are well entertained, and friendly received by them, being willing to hold commerce

[133] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1613), B1 Verso, B2 Recto.

with us; whereby wee have a more secure and ready meane, to establish a peaceable and assured commonwealth amongst them, for the imployment of all the severall professions of men mentioned before."[134]

Despite the professions against violence and bloodshed, Spain's experience in the New World meant that European adventurers thought they, too, could control indigenous populations, and anyone who refused to become a vassal as irredeemably savage, licentious, and cannibalistic. Throughout the seventeenth century, the English, Dutch, and French refined many of these barbaric stereotypes about "Caribs." They continued writing about their warlike and proud natures, but also recognized the potential to align themselves as common enemies to Spain. The newer colonists needed to ally themselves with Caribs because they could not be conquered in the same manner as the Aztec or Incan empire (by cutting off the relatively small elite and taking over their hierarchy and machinery of taxation). Despite Caribs having a diffuse political structure, the French, English, and Dutch came to recognize the Caribs as the fourth competitive "nation" in the Caribbean who challenged Spanish authority.[135] The idea that Caribs were an independent nation, on par with the colonists themselves, reinforced ideas that war between the two groups was between two equal parties. The idea of "just wars" leading to just enslavements was first introduced by the Spanish, and this rationale for enslavement continued under the English, French, and Dutch. The persistent stereotyping of Caribs as war-like and ruthless, which similarly originated in Spanish discourses, persisted and filtered into seventeenth-century narratives, histories, and ethnographies. Thus, even as the rhetoric of authors such as du Tertre

---

[134] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1613) B3 Recto.

[135] De Rochefort, *Historie Naturelle,* 349; Nancy van Deusen describes the early modern concept of "nation" or *nación* as "an abstract category of groupness based on territorial, cultural, residential or imperial affinity," *Global Indios*, 9.

and de Rochefort obfuscated the extent of slavery, while perpetuating the excuses used by Spaniards for enslavement, such as their supposedly proud, haughty, and un-yeilding natures.

Iberian Exploration, Theology and Jurisprudence

Iberians had rehearsed the enslavement of people within their territories through the *reconquista* of Andalucia, establishing a pattern repeated throughout the Atlantic World. The *reconquista* had established patterns of transforming Muslim captives in agricultural laborers through grants of *encomienda* (a gift of captive laborers in exchange for service to the crown). In the spirit of the *reconquista*, Prince Henry "the Navigator" of Portugal, along with Castilian and Genoese merchants, exploited the Coast of Guinea and the Atlantic Islands off the coast of Africa for gold and captives, en route to trade activities in Asia, from 1419 onward. Towards the end of Henry's life, in 1455, Pope Nicholas V absolved the seizure of African slaves through these explorations with a Papal Bull that gave the King Alfonso of Portugal permission to enslave any heathens who resisted the universal ambitions of Catholicism.[136] By the late-fifteenth century, sub-Saharan Africans had become the most prevalent group in Iberian slave markets.[137] The papal exculpation of African enslavement had already set a dangerous precedent for indigenous people throughout the world.

---

[136] The Portuguese recorded expansion in the Atlantic; first the uninhabited islands of Madeiera, the Azores, and Cape Verdes, and down the African coast to the upper Niger, Senegal and Guinea in 1434. For the timeline of landfalls, see A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 10; Although this bull justified enslavement, Portuguese counselors also saw that seeking diplomatic alliances and establishing trading posts along the coast of Africa could attract a steadier stream of goods, gold, and enslaved people. Consequently, after his death, the Portuguese Crown set up the *Casa da Guiné* to handle the African trade in 1475. For more on the establishment of trade with Senegambia, see Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 9. For the influence of the *reconquista* mentality on Prince Henry, see Peter Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

[137] Herbert S. Klein, "Blacks," *The Countryside in Colonial Latin America,* eds. Louisa Schell Hoberman, Susan Migden Socolow (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 168.

While Portuguese merchants rehearsed the transportation of Africans to foreign slave markets, Spaniards experimented with importing slave labor for plantations into newly-conquered territories. Although many Atlantic islands were uninhabited, the Canary Islands were home to the Guanches people. Between 1478 and 1483, Ferdinand and Isabella laid siege to the Guanches on the island of Gran Canaria. In the spirit of the reconquista, they said the goal of their conquest was to convert the population to Catholicism. Few Guanches chose baptism, however, and far more were reduced to death or enslavement, either staying on the Canaries or shipped to Iberian slave markets. Those who stayed facilitated experiments with Moorish-Andalusian sugar-making technology to the Canary Islands, which had favorable soil and climatic conditions for sugar production. Pedro de Vero, the conquistador of Gran Canaria, built the first sugar mill on the island in 1484. Soon after, many of the conquering elite started cultivating cane, supplementing their few native laborers with imported African and European slave labor.[138]

Columbus stopped in the Canaries before landing in the Caribbean, witnessing how the Guanche population still controlled the main islands of Tenerife, while the Spaniards established large-scale agriculture. This pattern of simultaneously oppressing the indigenous population while exploiting their labor received papal endorsement shortly after Columbus's first voyage. In May 1493, Pope Alexander IV issued the sequential Bulls *Inter Caetera* and *Eximie Devotionis*. Together, these bulls gave the Castilians the same powers that the Portuguese kings had received in 1455 to enslave heathens. *Inter Caetera* was interpreted as the papal donation of the entirety of the New World to the Castilian, later Spanish crowns, as long as they evangelized the native

[138] Prior to the Iberian conquest, merchants from a variety of nations had sailed to the Canaries, some bringing back captured Guanches along with dyes, hides, and tallow, since the fourteenth century. Alfred W. Crosby, "An Ecohistory of the Canary Islands: A Precursor of European Colonization in the New World and Australasia" *Environmental Review* 8, no 3 (Autumn 1984): 214-235.

population.[139] The next year, Alexander IV also authored the political equivalent of these papal bulls, the Treaty of Tordesillas, which delineated that all new lands west of the Cape Verde Islands would be under the Crown of Castile, and the territories east under the Portuguese. Isabelle of Castile, Ferdinand of Aragon, the Portuguese King João II and Prince João each signed.

Christopher Columbus treated many of the Caribbean Indians he encountered as slaves from the beginning of his explorations. In 1495, he paraded his captive *indios* through Sevilla, intending to sell them in a slave market, just as Castilians had sold the native Guanches, and the Portuguese continued to sell sub-Saharan Africans. However, Queen Isbella refused the sale of these Indians, and wanted them returned home. She decided to consult further with jurists and theologians about the morality of enslaving Indians.[140] This legal limbo did not deter Columbus from enslaving indigenous people on his subsequent voyages to the Caribbean. In 1498, Columbus reached Guiana via the Gulf of Paria in Trinidad. His men briefly disembarked and looked for supplies, but he continued along the coast of Venezuela. According to Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*, Columbus seized a pirogue (a large canoe-type boat) of twelve natives and transported them as slaves to Santo Domingo in Hispañola. Columbus had seen the gold and beautiful jewelry that the Indians wore, implying mineral wealth (although not, apparently, advanced manufactured skills signifying civilization) and fueling desires to find bullion for the empire. The captured Indians also gave him accounts of pearl beds along the coast. These stories would attract more conquistadors, pearl fishermen, and slave raiders to the Guiana region.[141]

---

[139] David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 79*;* Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 29-30.

[140] Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, 32; Watson, *Insatiable Appetites*, 68-69; Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 2.

Queen Isabella's hesitation to enslave the natives of the New World, despite Papal permissiveness, was result of legal and theological critiques from Spanish universities. Scholars questioned whether natural, divine, or human law could justify the conquest of indigenous peoples, with or without Papal approval, and what the proper relationship should be between the conquistadors and the *indios* if dominion was justified. [142] Most scholars eventually agreed that Spain had a right to conquest, but only if the Indians were natural slaves (who had no legitimate Christian government anyway), or the Indians willingly accepted their position as vassals of the Spanish crown and wanted to become Christian.[143] Queen Isabella initially declared that all Indians had redeemable souls, and should be offered the opportunity to be baptized and become vassals of the Crown. If they became vassals, they owed tribute to the monarchs but could not be enslaved. Upon hearing from the authorities of Española that some Indians from the surrounding islands refused to be vassals, and were furthermore rumored to be cannibals wholly outside of Christian mores, she seemed to agree that some Indians, especially these Cannibalistic Caribs, were in the category of "natural slave." Reports from these authorities had been tainted by stories from Columbus and his fellow conquistadors, echoing medieval travel literature about barbarians on the fringes, claiming that these Indians practiced human sacrifice, cannibalism, and sodomy,

---

[141] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit,* 73. Most of what we know about Columbus's relationship to the native peoples of the Caribbean comes from Bartolomé de las Casas, who was the "first editor" of Christopher Columbus's voyages, nearly fifty years after they took place. Columbus's voyages do not exist in his own hand, and therefore historians rely on Las Casas and Columbus's son, Ferdinand, for their accounts. Historian Felipe Fernandez-Arnesto cautions that on the one hand, the reliability of these accounts might be questioned because Las Casas wrote about Columbus nearly fifty years after his voyages, and his devotion to Indian welfare "has resulted in the over-representation of the Indians in the surviving material." However, Las Casas also presented Columbus favorably, as the instrument of the Indians' potential conversion and salvation, so the stories that reveal Columbus as particularly cruel or ready to enslave native peoples are probably not exaggerations. See Fernández-Arnesto*, Columbus on Himself* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2010), *Preface*, 11-12.

[142] Brading, *The First America*, 79.

[143] Alejandro Cañeque, "The Political Culture of Colonialism," Chapter 6 in *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Mexico* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004) 195; Brading, "The Great Debate," in *The First America*, 79-101.

establishing their position outside of natural society and making them deserving of enslavement.[144] Between 1500 and 1502, the Spanish Crown acted on these suspicions and began authorizing licenses to enslave Caribs on the Caribbean Islands and the Mainland of South America. Alonso de Hojeda, Pedro Niño, Cristobal Guerra and Luis Guerra each received Royal licenses to fish for pearl, mine for gold, and raid for slaves to bring back to Española to work in mines and on plantations.[145]

Isabella thus legitimated slave-raiding in Caribana, while also supporting an *encomienda* system to harness the labor of free Indians, given as tribute to the Crown. This tribute system took effect on Española through negotiations between the conquering Spaniards and local indigenous leaders, known as caciques.[146] Because this labor was negotiated with the caciques, the Spanish Crown considered all of the Taínos to be vassals, rather than slaves, even if the encomienda system also forced Indians to labor under undesirable conditions. As their (albeit tense) alliance with some of the Taínos caciques formed, Spaniards' negative perceptions of the Kalinago and, by association, the mainland Carib, grew. Although the Spaniards were happy to secure Española as a vassal state, the prolonged contact between the Taínos and the Spaniards meant that epidemic diseases decimated these communities. Populations in Caribana, on the other hand, would not suffer such widespread diseases until the seventeenth century.[147]

---

[144] Watson, "Discovering Cannibals: Europeans, Caribs, and Arawaks in the Caribbean," Chapter 2 in *Insatiable Appetites,* 49-86. Watson's chapter deftly explains how ancient and medieval concepts of barbarism and cannibalism were projected into the sixteenth-century Spanish Caribbean. Her book also deals with rumored indigenous cannibals elsewhere in the French and English Atlantic, although does not discuss the connections between early Spanish ethnographic accounts and later English, Dutch, and French sources in the seventeenth-century Caribbean, as I aim to show here.

[145] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 73; Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 2-3; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man,* 81.

[146] Erin Woodruff Stone, "America's First Slave Revolt: Indians and African Slaves in Española, 1500-1534," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 2 (2013): 195-217, 198.

[147] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 27-28.

The distinction between different ethnic groups in the Caribbean did not seem to matter much, at least initially, to those with slaving licenses. License-holder Alonso de Hojeda, joined by adventurer Amerigo Vespucci, sailed to Paria after Columbus's voyage and traded with the indigenous population for pearls and brasil wood. Whether Vespucci was actually an eyewitness to what he wrote about is in question, as much of his description of Indians in Guiana appear to be plagiarized from Columbus. Whether faithful descriptions of his own voyages or not, Vespucci certainly popularized and sensationalized accounts of sexual licentiousness and cannibalism among Caribbean Indians. Vespucci wrote that the Indians of Paria offered their virgin daughters to visiting men as tokens of friendship, and "eat little meat except for their captives."[148] Whether the Indians that Vespucci supposedly encountered considered themselves Kalinago, Karipuna, or Arawak is unmentioned, and might be further evidence that Vespucci was not actually familiar with any of these indigenous people. Similarly, the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao became the source of slaves. Diego Columbus raided these populations, declaring in 1502 that they were *islas inutiles* (useless islands) because they had neither pearls nor gold, and were unsuitable for agriculture.[149] This would begin a re-occurrirng pattern whereby when Spain declared an area useful, they would establish an encomienda system to keep the laboring population close at hand. All other "useless" locations contained Indians who could be enslaved.

In general, the Indians on these useful islands where Spaniards wanted to establish encomiendas became known as Arawak, and the indigenous people on the useless islands

---

[148] "Letter of Amerigo Vespucci to Piero Soderini" 4 September 1504, in Luciano Formisano (ed) and David Jacobson (trans), *Letters from the New World: Amerigo Vespucci's Discovery of America* (New York, NY: Marsilio, 1992), 63-73; 166-169.

[149] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 73.

became known as Carib. These distinctions, although they did not matter to those who had early slaving licenses (Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, for instance, had never been colonized by the Kalinago), they *did* become important after 1503, when Queen Isabella clarified that if cannibals resisted any Spaniards who made voyages to their lands, refusing to become her subject or entering the Catholic faith, they could be captured and sold for profit. No other Indians, however, should be taken for slaves in the region.[150] These distinctions would become strategic tools as Spanish explorers planned to enter Guiana from the 1530s onward. The Spaniards allied themselves with the dominant traders in the region, the Lokono of the Orinoco River. The Lokono would become known as Arawak, while the various enemies of the Lokono became known as cannibalistic Carib. The indigenous people targeted for enslavement had not previously identified themselves as Caribs, but their mutual antagonism towards the Spanish and Lokono eventually bound together diverse tribes in the region.[151]

After individual slaving licenses shifted to a broader permission to enslave any Caribs, the owners of *haciendas* (plantations or mining estates) and *ingenios* (sugar mills) on Española started importing large numbers of Indians from around the Caribbean (regardless of their ethnic identification or relation to the Kalinago). These Indians joined the Taínos and enslaved Africans on the sugar haciendas that spread rapidly throughout the island after 1505.[152] As violence and disease decimated the Taíno, as it had with the Guanches on the Canary Islands, the Spanish increased imports of slaves: both Africans and Lucayos, the native people of the Bahamas. By 1510, there might have been twenty-six thousand Lucayos on Española, while the native Taíno

[150] Watson, *Insatiable Appetites*, 68-69; Whitehead, "Carib Cannibalism," 71-72.

[151] Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering," 357–85. See chapter 3 for a further description of the consolidation of various tribes into one ethnic group labeled "Carib."

[152] Lynne Guitar, "Boiling It Down: Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane *Ingenios* in the Americas (Hispaniola, 1530-1545)," *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Jane G. Landers and Barry M. Robinson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 39-82.

population ceased to exist as a separate ethnic category.[153] In 1505, Española's governor Nicolás de Ovando petitioned the crown to import native peoples from the "useless islands nearby," including the Lesser Antilles, and Margarita and Cubagua islands near present-day Venezuela.[154] When the Spanish discovered pearl beds in the latter region in 1512, they convinced the Crown that they should put previously-labeled Caribs under an encomienda system instead of enslaving them, which would keep laborers in the region instead of sending them to Española.[155] The indigenous people of the region retaliated with numerous raids on Spanish colonies. This reinforced, to the Spanish, that they were indeed Caribs who remained hostile to being vassals of Spain; an encomienda system would be impractical, but slaving could continue. In the early-sixteenth century, many indigenous people who chose to avoid both direct conflict and enslavement in locations near Spanish mines, fisheries, and sugar haciendas fled to islands of Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent.[156] Just as diverse indigenous populations joined the ethnic Caribs in Guiana in response to Spanish colonization, so too did diverse groups of Indians join the ethnic Kalinago.

Rebellions against the Spanish occurred in the more securely-held islands of the Greater Antilles as well. In 1510, the natives of Puerto Rico rebelled against the Spanish overlords and killed an *encomendero*. Although the Puerto Rican natives and rebels were not ethnically Kalinago, the colonial government of Española labeled them Carib because of their rebelliousness and declared a war on all Caribs. This facilitated massive enslavement around the

---

[153] Stone, "America's First Slave Revolt," 201; Santos-Granero, "The Arawakan Matrix," 40.

[154] Quoted in John M. Monteiro, "Labor Systems," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America,* eds. John H. Coatsworth, Roberto Cortes-Condé and Victor Bulmer-Thomas (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 192.

[155] Neil L. Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 73.

[156] Hill and Santos-Granero, *Arawak Histories,* 37.

Caribbean and relocation to Spanish-held islands to supplement the labor force.[157] After the rebellion against the encomienda system in Puerto Rico, and the subsequent wars and raiding parties against Caribs, many priests and missionaries began to question whether the encomienda actually undermined their ability to preach Christianity and save souls. In 1511, the Dominican Antonio de Montesinos, while serving as a priest to the colonists of Española, preached that the Spanish undermined their own claims to sovereignty if they subjugated their own vassals to slavery-like conditions. In response, King Ferdinand convened a meeting of Spanish canonists at Burgos, asking Juan López de Palacios Rubios to defend the monarchy's claims.

Although the meeting at Burgos should have reformed the encomienda system, the "Laws of Burgos" effectively created a model wherein "just wars" could become a widespread cover for slaving activity. Palacios Rubios adopted previous claims that all Indians (not only Caribs) were "slaves by nature" and thus not reasonable enough to form their own government. If they *did* accept the Spanish government, they could remain free. If they refused to recognize the papal donation, however, they would be denying an authority derived from Christ himself. Palacios Rubios summarized these arguments in the *requerimiento*, so called because the crown required conquistadors to read it out-loud to the natives of the New World as a warning that their rejection of Spain would lead to war, wherein the Spanish would be justified in killing or enslaving them as rebels.[158] In 1515 alone, the Spaniards captured 2,000 Indians from around the Caribbean and brought them to Española.[159]

---

[157] Stone, "America's First Slave Rebellion," 202.

[158] The term "natural slaves" was derived from Artistotle's arguments in *Politics* about the formation of social hierarchies, and how some people are naturally more servile than others. Artistotle did not use it as a justification for enslavement, however. See Brading, *The First America*, 80-81. Pagden describes how the *requerimiento* is the embodiment of a Roman tradition of enslavement, wherein captivity was seen as more merciful than death. The Spaniards also adopted the Roman tradition that slavery would be a perpetual condition that followed the mother: *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale

Spanish laws in the first two decades of the American conquest had cemented the reputation of Caribs as belligerent, uncontrollable, irredeemable, and therefore natural slaves. The first person to try to rehabilitate Caribs as potential vassasls to the Crown was Bartolomé de Las Casas, a priest and former encomendero on Española. Montesino's famous defamation of the encomienda systems inspired Las Casas to give up his own Indigenous laborers in 1515. He joined other reformers and tried to recruit men to join him in a mission in Cubagua (a small island north of Venezuela). The widespread reports of Carib retaliations against the Spanish community of pearl-fishers on Cubagua, and rumors of Carib cruelty, however, could not persuade reformed encomenderos to stay on Española. Las Casas still went to Cubagua in 1522, albeit alone. Once he arrived, the pearl fishers and slavers successfully harassed him into leaving. They had not come to civilize Caribs, but to enslave them by whatever institutional means the Spanish crown made available.

Since encomiendas had previously failed along the Guiana coast, slave licenses were still the primary means of facilitating the enslavement of Indians there. After Las Casas's departure, pearls and the little gold that Spaniards had found when trading with the Guyana Caribs in Trinidad drew Spaniards from the coast toward the interior of Guiana. Spaniard Diego de Ordás entered the Orinoco River in 1531, and the Spanish community of Cubagua received a license through the Crown, via the *alcade* (magistrate), to make war and slave against any tribes they encountered. The Spanish entrance to the Orinoco was disastrous, however, and provoked

University Press, 1995), 55, 91, 95, 170-171. See also Patricia Seed, "The Requirement: A Protocol for Conquest," in *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[159] Cornelis Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580-1680* (Gainsville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1971), 264.

another Indian uprising. The Crown reversed its policy of enslaving all the Indians of the coast to enslaving Caribs only.[160]

The encomienda system was a failure morally as well as economically, and Spanish governors in the Caribbean experimented further with means to acquire new laborers. Since an encomienda fixed laborers to one grant-recipient, new hacienda owners with no such grant complained about their ability to access laborers. Governor Rodrigo de Albuquerque of Española insituted the *repartimiento* system from 1513-1514. The repartimiento rotated Indian laborers to work at various sugar haciendas. The *repartimiento* included the once-privileged caciques that had previously negotiated with the Spanish, weakening the positions of both caciques and the encomenderos vis-à-vis the colonial government. Encomenderos were obliged to send a third of their Indian laborers to work at other locations on the island, at the behest of both non-encomendero colonists and the crown. The repartimiento did not satisfy the demand for laborers among the owners of haciendas or ingenios. The hacenderos encouraged Spanish governors to send out *Armadas de rescate,* which acquired slaves through "redeeming" captives, to go towards the coasts of Central and South America to bring in indigenous laborers. They simultaneously demanded more African slaves shipped from across the Atlantic.[161]

The combination of Spaniards maligning local caciques and increased imports of African slaves, particularly Islamic Wolofs from Senegambia, lead to conditions rife for rebellion. Indigenous people had already begun to escape encomiendas and live in the more mountainous regions of Española; news of their maroonage circulated between both Indian and African

---

[160] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 74-76.

[161] Stone, "America's First Slave Revolt," 204; Monteiro, "Labor Systems," 191-192; Van Deusen writes that "*rescate* transactions occurred between a local cacique or lord and a Spanish buyer, authority, or encomendero, who exchanged indios already held in bondage for goods. The practice expanded on local customs of slavery, but other connotations of the term *rescate* included redemption or rescue" of "saving Christians and vulnerable non-Christian children from the 'infidels'," *Global Indios*, 5.

communities as they increasingly labored together on sugar plantations in large numbers. The leader of the first slave rebellion in the Americas was a Taíno cacique named Enriquillo. The Wolof slaves on Diego Columbus's sugar ingenio decided to rebel on Christmas day in 1521 and flee to the caves where Enriquillo and his indigenous maroons already resided. From their base in the Bahoruco Mountains, self-liberated Indians and Africans began to raid Spanish ingenios, towns, and farms.[162] The Christmas Day rebellion demonstrated the danger of colonists marginalizing locally-powerful indigenous people, uniting Indian and African slaves through a common oppressor.

Eventually, Enriquillo reached a peace with the Spaniards in return for a royal pardon. The pardon was overshadowed by the harsher slave code issued the next year, in 1522, *the Ordenanzas*. These ordinances made rebellion a capital crime, and maroonage punishable by mutilation. Slaves could not move locations unless accompanied by their masters, and needed to be unarmed.[163] The harsher slave code, combined with increasing pressure from religious orders and the crown to not enslave Indians, dissuaded Española's encomenderos from reporting the actual numbers of Indians on their sugar ingenios. They gave a very conservative estimate of the 1530 census that there were only 200 Indians among the 1,870 African slaves and 427 Spanish laborers on Española's sugar ingenios. The numbers in the first census look even less believable, considering that in a 1545 census, Indians numbered 5,125 (57%) of the laborers, outnumbering Africans counted at 3,827 persons, even though imports of African slaves had increased dramatically in the 1540s.[164] Although the actual numbers of Indian laborers and slaves are

---

[162] Stone, "America's First Slave Revolt," 209.

[163] Stone, "America's First Slave Revolt," 213.

[164] Guitar, "Boiling It Down," 46-51.

difficult to ascertain, as slavery was increasingly regulated and institutionalized, people were drawn into a more complex web of connections. As we will see in further chapters, the stigma and legal restrictions surrounding Indian slavery would also lead English and Dutch plantation owners to avoid faithful accounting of their Indian slaves, for fear of provoking official censure.

The Creation of the Black Legend and the Persistence of Carib Myths

The conquest of the Aztecs (1519-1521) and the Inca (1532-1533) challenged the assumption that all Indians were less civilized than various Christian states in Europe. Spaniards justified these take-overs as "just war" through the use of the requerimiento and alliances with other indigneous groups they had oppressed. This seemed, to Spaniards, to be further proof that their wars against the Great Empires of the Incas and Aztecs were fought on behalf of the few groups of "innocent" Indians against despotic, cannibalistic, and human-sacrificing regimes.[165] However, it was difficult to argue that these empires were neither urban, nor civilized, nor in need of governance. The information about these empires presented to the public through Hernán Cortes's *Cartas de relation* (1522), Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (1526), and Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* (1530), showed that the conquistadors were the ones who had acted brutishly towards the indigenous people of the New World.[166] Unfortunately, while lauding the Aztec and Incan empires, Martyr's account also repeated accusations against the semi-sedentary Caribs as uncivilized cannibals hopelessly outside of European practices.[167]

---

[165] Matthew Restall describes how these Indian alliances, and African slaves, facilitated a relatively small numbers of Conquistadors. See "Invisible Warriors: The Myth of the White Conquistador," *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest (*Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[166] Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, 58, 65-76; Brading, *The First America*, 83-87.

[167] Watson, *Insatiable Appetites*, 57.

These well-circulated texts, as well as personal letters and reports that traveled from the Dominicans in the New World to Spain, influenced scholars of the University of Salamanca. There, Dominican Francisco de Vitoria interpreted reports of Pizarro's execution of Incan emperor Atahualpa in 1533 as the sort of illegitimate violence that undermined any claims that the Spaniards had to rule over Indians, or consider them natural slaves. Vitoria argued in a lecture entitled *Relectio de Indis* (1539) that Indians should be considered rightful members of the body politic, who might chose to be vassals of the Spanish monarch, but were not 'natural slaves.' Vitoria dismissed the reports of sodomy and cannibalism as reasons to execute, kill, or enslave Indians by saying that these occurrences were no more subversive than the murder that occurred in European states, and Spain did not intervene in those cases. Charles V responded to the lecture by commanding him to remain quiet on the subject. Vitoria's accusations would only be amplified, however, by the return of Bartolomé de las Casas to Spain in 1542. Las Casas, after his failed mission at Cubagua, took Dominican orders. Upon his return to Española, Las Casas also engaged with the Franciscans about methods of Indian conversion. Both groups agreed that the Papal Donation of the New World was illegitimate without successfully evangelizing native peoples.[168] When he arrived in Spain in 1542, he presented to Charles V the contents of his *Brevísima relacíon*, outlining accusations of Spanish brutality, the failures of the encomienda system, and the continued enslavement of indigenous peoples who might otherwise become Christian.[169]

In response to the discussions between Dominicans and Franciscans in the New World, and critiques from within Spanish Universities, Charles V issued the "New Laws" of 1542. These

---

[168] Cañeque, *The King's Living Image,* 188.

[169] Brading, *The First America*, 84-85.

were the most comprehensive series of laws forbidding Indian slavery, notably forbidding the enslavement of any Indian within Spanish-held territory, any non-combatant women, and children under fourteen years old. The New Laws still declared exceptions on the basis of just war against Indians outside Spanish territory, Indians ransomed by their captors, and anyone suspected of cannibalism.[170] The exception of cannibalism opened the way for another loophole, issued in 1547, which once again made an exception to Carib warriors.[171] Spanish intellectual and imperial chronicler, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, supported the exceptions made for belligerent Indians who "were barbarous and inhumane peoples who have no civil life and peaceful customs." He argued that if barbarous people rejected Spanish rulers (who could secure more cultured and humane modes of life for them) then those rulers could impose themselves "by force of arms. Such a war will be just according to natural law."[172] Las Casas countered that the Requiremento was a legal farce; both sides of combatants need to knowingly and purposely undertake a war, otherwise it was not just. [173]

Charles V staged the Valladolid debates between 1550-1551 so Spanish jurists and the academy (mostly Dominican theologians) could hear out these arguments between Las Casas and Sepúlveda. Sepúlveda did not get permission to publish his side of the debates, and neither did Las Casas. However, Las Casas did publish his *A Short Destruction of the Indies* in 1552, along with an observer's summary of the Valladolid debates.[174] Although the tract did not circulate

---

[170] Van Deusen, "Narratives of Territorial Belonging, Just War, and Ransom," in *Global Indios*, 147-169.

[171] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 76.

[172] Juan Ginés De Sepúlveda, "Democrates Alter; Or, On the Reasons for the Just War Among the Indians (1547)," eds. Steven Mintz and Sara O'Neil, *Digital History*, accessed online 24 March 2016 <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active_learning/explorations/spain/spain_sepulveda.cfm>.

[173] Pagden, *Lords of All the World,* 95.

widely at first, it gained tremendous popularity in the following decades with translations and adoptions into English, French, and Dutch, as these enemies sought to challenge Spanish dominion in both Europe and the New World.[175]

European Schemes to Challenge Spain

Following internal Spanish critiques, English, Dutch and French thinkers had reached the consensus that indigenous people ought to be incorporated within colonial societies, and not excluded from it as slaves, as a sign of legitimacy for expansion in America.[176] They, like the French scholar Jean Bodin, dismissed natural law to justify slavery. Bodin saw captivity not as a natural condition for any man, but rather a condition of human-made international law where captives could be taken in wars fought between two independent nations (as happened frequently in the Mediterranean). Reinterpreting Roman law, he wrote in 1576 that taking captives in a "just war" was indeed more merciful than killing prisoners of war, but this was a function of positive and not natural law. Bodin made a distinction between slaves created this way (through war) and slaves captured in raids, which was indefensible through *either* natural or positive law. The Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius later agreed that captivity arose from the law of nations, rather than natural hierarchies of civilization.[177] Grotius wrote that wars against barbarians might be seen as just, but only if the barbarians threatened another sovereign group's way of life; in other words, as a defensive action.[178] Throughout the seventeenth century, notions that Indians were natural

[174] Brading, *The First America*, 79-80.

[175] Brading, *The First America*, 100-101.

[176] Michael Guasco, "To 'Doe Some Good Upon Their Countrymen': The Paradox of Indian Slavery in Early Anglo-America," *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 2 (2007): 389–411, 390-391.

[177] Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 89-91.

[178] Pagden, *Lords of All the World,* 60.

slaves fell out of favor, but throughout Europe arguments using "just war" theory continued to be used in support of the enslavement of both Africans and indigenous people.[179]

The English and the Dutch used the same rhetoric against Spanish injustice in the New World to undermine their imperial claims over the Netherlands during the Dutch Revolt (1658-1648). The Dutch explicitly identified themselves with the innocent Indians of the New World, suffering under the yoke of Spanish taxation, foreign rule, and imposed Catholicism.[180] Under the direction of Queen Elizabeth, the fellow Protestant English funneled arms and funds to Dutch rebels. Both the English and the Dutch were armed, intellectually, with recent translations of Las Casas's *Brevisima Relacíon,* which they saw as a challenge to Spanish dominion in both the new world and in Europe.[181] Englishmen read Dutch war propaganda against the Hapsburgs, such as *The Apologie of Prince William of Orange* (1581), which contributed to English people embracing the idea that subjects had a right to resistance against a monarchy or a ruler who was no longer popularly supported.[182] The English sympathized with the Dutch in their struggle against Spain, and further sympathized with the indigenous people of the Americas, who, like the Dutch, had neither required nor solicited the rule of a foreign empire. Ongoing English support for the Dutch prompted Spain to launch its Armada against the English in 1588. When the English challenged the Spanish in the Caribbean, they utilized the intellectual critiques offered by Las Casas to undermine Spain's claims in the New World. During these conflicts, the English

---

[179] Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 5.

[180] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad.*

[181] Las Casas's work appeared as a near-complete English translation in 1583, called *The Spanish Colonie*, appearing during the Dutch Revolt. For an excerpt, see Bartolomé de Las Casas, "From A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies (1542)" in Derek Hughes (ed) *Visions of Blackness*, 281-284. Brading, *The First America*, 100-101.

[182] Hugh Dunthorne, "Resisting monarchy: the Netherlands as Britain's school of revolution in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs and H.M. Scott (London: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 125, 130-131.

and Dutch argued that dominion needed to be, but had not been, established between the Spanish and indigenous people through legal treaties, purchases, and the cooperation of the native inhabitants.[183] Furthermore, the Dutch and English, as hopeful colonizers, considered their gift to native Americans would be in bringing true (Protestant) Christianity to their populations.[184] Just war theory, which the Spaniards had once used to topple Indian empires and enslave mass numbers of resistant Caribs, was now working against them; the English and Dutch considered their own military actions, in Europe and the New World, justified because of Spain's unfit governance.

English and Dutch translations of the Spanish chroniclers and Bartolomé Las Casas's critiques against Indian enslavement had become an international tool to indict the Spanish mode of colonization, and champion alternative models based on cooperation with indigenous people.[185] Caribs had suffered the most under the Spaniards, even being excluded from the recognition of the humanity granted by the New Laws. As a further caveat in 1569, Carib women were exempted from the law against the enslavement of women because they were reputed to participate in cannibalistic rituals and promiscuous sex.[186] Geopolitically, these exceptions perhaps aided Spaniards along the Guiana coast in the short run, as Spaniards, namely Governor and explorer Antonio de Berrio, who wished to try once more to penetrate the Orinoco region in the 1580s. These exemptions for Caribs gave them a freer hand in their attempt at conquest. It

---

[183] "Consideracons relating to the English Affaires in America/ Some reasons to justify the first designe into the West Indies," (1655?) British Library, Egerton MSS 2395-614.

[184] "By the early seventeenth century it had become not uncommon for the English colonists, or at least the more openly evangelical among them, to represent themselves as benevolent settlers healing the benighted Indians to develop God's plenty." Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 88. See also Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad.*

[185] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*.

[186] For an extended discussion of the perceived relationship between cannibalism and immoral sexuality and fear of women, see Watson, *Insatiable Appetites*. For the exceptions of Cannibals to the New Laws, see Van Deusen, "Narratives of Territorial Belonging, Just War, and Ransom," in *Global Indios*. Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters,* 16.

might have also helped in their alliance with the Lokono Arawak, the most dominant traders along the Orinoco described in Chapter 1, who had made enemies of diverse groups of Indians, including the Warao, Nepoyo, Yao and Guyano, and ethnic Carib. In the long-term, the Spanish-Lokono alliance decimated these tribes, and gradually forced their reconstitution in one opposition group, the Carib. But the Carib, unified, were much stronger that the previous scattered tribes and tolerated a limited English and Dutch presence in order to keep the Spaniards at bay. Through the colonial experience, the Carib identity, often thrust upon people who were not Carib ethnically, became a political reality in the seventeenth century.[187] Instead of clearing a path to El Dorado, the Spaniards drove various tribes towards trade and military alliances with the English and Dutch, who shared grievances against the Spanish.

No one was more eager to capitalize on the shared antagonism of the English and Indian towards the Spanish than Walter Raleigh. He had designed and funded the flagship, the *Ark Royal*, of the English fleet that combated the Armada in 1588.[188] In the following years, Raleigh presented himself to Elizabeth as a Protestant knight willing to face the popish enemy in the Americas as well, persuading her that his private actions would substitute for an undesirable war between the two nations.[189] His *Discoverie* is thus full of the chivalric, courteous, and romantic flourishes appropriate to his identity as a knight, courtier, and admirer of Elizabeth. He

---

[187] Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering."

[188] After the successful defeat of the Armanda, Raleigh fell out of favor with Elizabeth, for marrying without the Queen's knowledge or permission. His journey to Guiana was, therefore, also for personal redemption in the eyes of Elizabeth. See Schmidt, "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest," *The Discovery of Guiana*, 8.

[189] Karen Kupperman explains how Raleigh's protestant gallantry became a idealized version of confronting Spain: Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Errand to the Indies: Puritan Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design," in *Settlement Patterns in Early Modern Colonization, 16th-18th Centuries*, ed. Joyce Lorimer, Varorium Expanding World Series, vol 25 (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 123.

contrasted his "courteous conquest" with the blood conquest of the Spaniards in his comportment of virtue and civility towards the indigenous population of America.[190]

The potential of English success, as measured by territorial gains in the region, rested on the promises Raleigh gave Elizabeth that the Indians were favorably disposed towards the English, as allies in trade and war, to fight off the Spanish from Venezuela and the Portuguese from Brazil. The narratives of Raleigh, his lieutenant Lawrence Keymis, and Robert Harcourt each contain a wealth of rhetoric meant to persuade English monarchs that indigenous groups were predisposed towards them against the Spanish. (Although this chapter focuses on rhetoric of these narratives, the subsequent chapters will present evidence for a less chivalric reality). In his *Discovery*, Raleigh wrote about how he captured and released the Spanish Governor Antonio de Berrio near Trinidad for his information on the Orinoco. Raleigh wrote that de Berrio warned his Indians allies that anyone trading with the English would be "hanged and quartered." Raleigh described how the Indians came to him and his men, seeking support and protection. Raleigh also wrote that the Spaniards had re-instituted Indian slavery, highlighting how the Spaniards had relinquished any reform measures set out by the New Laws in Guiana. Raleigh wrote that de Berrio "had devided the Iland [Trinidad] & given to every soldier a part, that he made the ancient Casiqui which were Lordes of the country to be their slaves, that he kept them in chains, & dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, & such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true." Although the Spanish laws granting licenses to enslave the Indians of Guiana can be confirmed in the historical record, Raleigh's description of these tortures are more difficult to verify. According to Raleigh, as soon as he heard of the enslavement of Indians and these tortures, he set off to the Spanish city of S. Joseph's [present day St. Joseph, Trinidad] to fire his

---

[190] Schmidt, "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest," *The Discovery of Guiana,* 15.

weapons" at the instance [sic] of the Indians."[191] Raleigh emphasized in this commentary that the Spaniards were the enemy of the Indians and enslaved them, while the English rescued and avenged them. In this passage, Raleigh uses the non-specific "Indians" to describe the people that he avenges from enslavement. This provides an interesting contrast to the passage on the slave market Acamacari, quoted in Chapter 1, where he blames both the Spanish and the "Canibals" for enslaving their own. Although the rhetoric of avenging innocent Indians against the Spanish is strong in Raleigh's *Discovery,* he (perhaps unwittingly) repeated Spanish rhetoric maligning Caribs as ruthless cannibals who sold their own family members. In subsequent chapters, I will investigate how these accusations-- written by Raleigh and Keymis as if exclusively committed by the Spanish-- would become common transgressions against native people in all colonial societies.

Although these individuals were enthusiastic about challenging the Spaniards, Elizabeth's approval was tepid and contingent, and during the later voyage of Robert Harcourt, James I was even more obviously resistant.[192] Instead of reading these sources as ineffective boosterism, however, we see how they offer tantalizing anecdotes about Indian cooperation (particularly from the Yao and Carib), and even more interesting, fleeting references to the ways that Englishmen used Indian labor (Chapter 3). Raleigh's *Discoverie* argued that the emperor El Dorado of Manoa was a satellite emperor of the Inca, and their highly civilized political structure would make diplomacy easy between them and the English.[193] Instead of debating whether the indigenous people were fully human or not, English rhetoric about conquering the New World

[191] Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana*, Whitehead (ed), 133-134.

[192] Kupperman, "Errand to the Indies."

[193] Whitehead, "Introduction," *The Discoverie of Guiana*, Whitehead (ed), 27.

began with the assumption (derived from Spanish rumors) of certain political similarities between themselves and the Indians.

Anti-Spanish Rhetoric in the Promotional Literature of Guiana

Raleigh's advocacy for the Guiana explorations did not convince the English monarchs to invest in voyages directly, but it certainly whet the appetite for private English and Dutch explorers to trade with indigenous people in the region. The English and Dutch extended the mutual aid they had shared during the Dutch Revolt to their ventures in the New World. At the time of Raleigh's voyage to Guiana in 1595, most of the English and Irish ventures to Amazonia were "financed and fitted out" in Flushing (Vlissingen) in the Zeeland province of the Netherland.[194] The Dutch project to undermine Spanish claims to Guiana was supported ideologically by the States General of the Netherlands who allowed merchants to operate in the Caribbean as self-funded privateers.[195] The Dutch government was more concerned with winning independence at home than carving out new territories to control in America. It is not clear how many Dutch privateers and merchants actually wanted to create vassal states that owed allegiance to the States General, but the rhetoric of English explorers like Raleigh, Keymis, and the Harcourt (in the passage that introduced this chapter) focused on turning indigenous polities into vassal states under the English monarchy, albeit with the consent and alliance of the indigenous people who had suffered the most under the Spanish: the Caribs.

Despite its reputation as a region with indigenous rebelliousness, Raleigh, Keymis and Harcourt each presented Guiana, in their narratives, as a submissive space where indigenous people begged for protection from the Spanish, and would facilitate the extraction of wealth.

---

[194] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 52.

[195] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 10.

When Raleigh first voyaged to Guiana in 1595, he employed Lawrence Keymis as his Lieutenant.[196] Keymis also performed another, second journey to Guiana in 1596 without Raleigh, and wrote *Relation of a Second Voyage* in the same year. Like Raleigh, he emphasized Spanish enslavement and rape of the indigenous people in Guiana. Keymis wrote that Spaniards "perforce doe take all things from them, using them as their slaves, to runne, to rowe, to be their guides, to carrie their burdens, and that which is worst of all, to be content, for saftie of their lives, to leave their women, if a Spaniard chaunce but to set his eie on anie of them to fancie her: on the other side; they could hope or, nor desire no better state and usage, then her Maiesties gracious government, and princelie vertues do promise, and assure unto them."[197] Keymis flattered and beseeched Elizabeth for her protection of the Indians, but also in hopes of her investment. He described his and Raleigh's quest in contrast to the Spanish, and that they wanted "Riches with honor, Conquest without blood." He personified the region in a poem as a woman: "Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of golde,/ stands on her tiptoes at faire England looking,/ Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast/ And every signe of all submission making."[198] This poem, written after the voyages, demonstrates the continued belief (or desire to believe) that Guiana would submit to European rule because the English form of conquest would be mutually beneficial and desired, unlike the seemingly unilateral efforts of the Spanish.[199]

---

[196] Showing another connection between the English and Low Countries, Keymis himself was Flemish but educated in England, which is how he entered Raleigh's circle. Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 21-23.

[197] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana,* D2 verso, D3 Recto.

[198] Keymis's poem, which opens his relation of his voyage, reads: "Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing/Riches with honour, Conquest without bloud . . . This stanza concludes that Elizabeth, the most sacred Maide, will "bring foorth anew in all perfection,/what heretofore savage corruption held/ in barbarous Chaos." Lawerence Keymis, "De Guiana, Carmen Epicum," *Second Voyage to Guiana*.

[199] Schmidt, "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest," *The Discovery of Guiana,* 29-34.

Keymis also, more explicitly than Raleigh, explained why England should continue supporting ventures to Guiana, since it was a strategic point of entry for the English in the New World. Keymis considered this territory the weakest link in Spanish claims to control the entirety of the New World. Somewhat chipping away at Raleigh's insistence that Manoa was a satellite empire of Peru, Keymis implied that there was no uniformity of culture amongst the areas between the Orinoco and the Amazon: "no common linke of affinity, lawe, language, or religion." He saw that the indigenous people were able to "maintaine themselves without foregeine commerce" entirely independent of settled, colonial intermediaries, and thus did not need the Spanish. Keymis concluded that the indigenous people of Guiana, who had so successfully resisted intrusion, "doe rather possess Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them."[200] Ironically, he did not see this self-possession as a deterrent for English colonization.

Keymis's assurances regarding Guiana as a strategic position to challenge Spain's dominance in the New World came too late. Between 1598-1609, outright hostilities between the Spanish and their challengers tempered; France, England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands each signed peace treaties with them. To chivalric English Protestants, it seemed their mission against the Spaniards, both to end their cruelty against Indians and the spread of Catholicism, had been abandoned at the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603.[201] In the first year of his reign, James I imprisoned Raleigh on suspicion of him plotting puritan conspiracy against the King.[202] The idea of a submissive Guiana, allowing a flourishing English dominion abroad, was still more a poetic flight of fancy than an operable reality.

---

[200] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana*, F Recto.

[201] Kupperman, "Errand to the Indies," 122-123.

[202] Benjamin, "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest," *The Discovery of Guiana,* 37.

Like the Spanish and English, the Dutch saw the great potential in extracting the resources of Guiana and trading with the indigenous people. As it become clear from Raleigh and Keymis's narratives that they were more than capable of maintaining their autonomy, the Dutch wondered about how to construct their diplomatic relationship with the native peoples of the region. Willem Usselincx tried to drum up support for the annexation and colonization of Guiana with the States General. Around 1603, an undated and unsigned document, attributed to him, argued that Guiana was favorably located to fight Spain, continue searching for gold and silver, participate in salt and wood trades, and curiously, would make a good "asylum for the thousands of poor, oppressed, expelled persons and desolate families" who were displaced because of the Eighty Years' War.[203] The Dutch agreed to a cessation of hostilities with Spain between 1609-1621, giving the Dutch time to develop more concrete policies about colonizing Guiana, and the New World in general. Usselincx offered sound and balanced reasoning in his proposals for West-Indies colonization. Like Vitoria and Las Casas, he agreed that evangelism ought to be the main goal, albeit the religion should be the Dutch Reformed Church rather than Catholicism.

Indigenous trade was a major consideration for the Dutch as they considered a ceasefire in their revolt against the Spanish Hapsburgs. The Dutch, like the English, had been engaged (sometimes together) in placating each indigenous nation in Guiana to facilitate peaceful settlement and trade relationships between all of the indigenous groups of the region. The English and the Dutch also found each other to be useful allies against the Spanish in the region.

[203] Willem Usselincx (attributed to), "Remonstratie aen de E. Mo. Heeren van de Staten Generael op stuck van de populatie in American gelegen" in Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 263- 268; quote "niet alleenelyck streckende is ter eere Godes, propagatie syns heylick wordts, welvaren ende proffyte, nyet alleenelyck deeser geunieerde provincien int Generael ende der perticuliere reederen end cooplieden, die hennen handel ende navigatie daerwarts sullen coomen te dirigeren, maer oock tot troost retreyte ende asylum voor veel dusenden arme, verdruckte, verdrevene persoonen ende desolate families, die door deesen langurigen crych uyt hennen welwavren ende middelkens geweken ende gecloeden zijn . . ." 266.

By the time of English adventurer Robert Harcourt voyage in 1609, he and his men relied on the Dutch to help him escape when the Spaniards and 1500 of "their Indians" attacked him.[204]

The year previous, in 1608, Usselincx wrote a pamphlet entitled "Further Thoughts on shipping, trade, and commerce" about the advantages and disadvantages of a proposed truce with Spain. As in his other pamphlets, he promoted the creation of what would become the Dutch West Indies Company. Usselincx considered that if war continued, it might have the detrimental effect of over-extending Dutch resources. However, he also saw war as enlarging Dutch trade networks. His chief concern about establishing a peace was that trade would corrode and the enemy Spanish would be empowered.[205] He described how the Dutch economy had done well under the conditions of war, and feared that peace would bring diminished incomes for the United Provinces.[206] Usselincx wrote that "there are diverse countries [in the West Indies] wherein the Inhabitants have enough money for their daily drinks to drink but not for some protection of their freedom and their lives" from the slavery of the Spaniards.[207] Historian Cornelis Goslinga had interpreted this passage to mean that the Usselincx wanted to offer the Indians higher "wages" in exchange for their labor. However, this seems to be a very generous interpretation of Usselincx's more general call for Dutch sovereignty to make happy subjects out of the natives of Guiana. Schmidt commented that in developing the campaign for a West Indian

---

[204] Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 13-14, 25.

[205] "Dat door den Vrede de neeringe seer sal vergaen, d'wtgewe [wetgever] kenne weder vertrecken, ende consequentelijc desen staet seer verzwackt, ende den vyant sal ghesterckt worden."

[206] "Ick hebbe ooc bewesen dat de lasten in tijt van Vrede de vereenichde landen meer sullen drucken als in d'Oorloge/ ende so wy geen macht en hebben het groot in-comen da wy nu hebben." Willem Usselincx, *Naerder bedenckingen, over de zee-vaerdt/ coop-handel ende neeringhe/ als mede de versekeringhe vanden staet deser vereenichde landen/ inde teghenwoordighe vrede-handelinghe met den coninck van Spangnien ende de aertshertoghen. Door con lief-hebber eenes oprechten, ende bestandighen vredes voorghestelt*, (No Publisher) 1608. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[207] Usselincx, *Naerder bedenckingen*.

trade "Usselincx's campaign for an American enterprise underscored the moral obligation of the Republic to 'free' the Indians and grant them their 'natural liberties' –by which he meant both freedom of conscience and freedom of trade" revealing "a deep ambivalence" between *saving* the Indians and *exploiting* them.[208] At the time of Usselinx's pamphlet, however, there were already discrepancies between his diplomatic theory and colonial practice, as we will see in the next chapter.

Usselincx's pamphlet is an example of how politically-minded Dutch statesmen had an eye to establishing themselves in Guiana with the help of natives who voluntarily subjected themselves, similar to the strategy promoted in the narratives of Raleigh, Keymis, and Harcourt. The Dutch would successfully court indigenous allies, but these allies would not be formal subjects of the United Provinces. Neither would Usselincx's proposal to settle refugees, nor win vast numbers of converts come to fruition. Usselincx's arguments for a state-sponsored trade company did, however, eventually manifest in the Dutch West Indies Company, chartered at the end of the Twelve Years Truce, which eventually came into effect in 1609 and lasted until 1621.[209] Before the truce was over, both English and Dutch merchants had privately continued to challenge Iberian attempts in Guiana though trading ventures, shoring up their alliances with the indigenous peoples who considered them a welcome alternative to the Spanish. Robert Harcourt,

---

[208] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad,* xxvi.

[209] Although the Dutch eventually made concerted efforts at evangelism in Brazil, Guiana would not receive much attention throughout the seventeenth century. The first archival evidence that I found of a Dutch Reformed Church preacher coming to Guiana was to Cayenne (Cajana) in 1660. Although there may have been others before him, his narrative suggests that his presence had no precedent. He arrived in 1661 to a contentious group of settlers. It appears he was sent to minister among the colonists rather than evangelize among the natives, however, as there is no mention of Indians in the report he prepared for the Amsterdam Classis of the Dutch Reformed Church. "Brief van de Predikant Te 'Cajana,'" 1661. 379.2.2.2.2.213. Classis van Amsterdam, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. I will discuss the Reformed Church in Curaçao briefly in Chapter 4. The lack of preachers in the Caribbean should not suggest general disinterest in evangelism on the part of the WIC, however. For the Dutch Reformed Church and its role in regulating the lives of colonial subjects in Brazil and New Netherlands, see Deborah Hamer, "Creating an Orderly Society: The Regulation of Marriage and Sex in the Dutch Atlantic World, 1621-1674," PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2014.

whose voyage in 1609 followed those of Walter Raleigh, Lawrence Keymis, and numerous smaller English and Dutch merchants, re-articulated the goals of English expansion in Guiana succinctly when addressing King James I. Harcourt wrote his *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* in 1613. Just as Elizabeth I had allowed Raleigh's voyages but had not funded them, James I himself did not wish to provoke the Spanish in an outright war. Although King James himself demurred from financing Harcourt directly, Harcourt received powerful support from Prince Henry, the son of James. Harcourt also used his own money, and many of his own family members as crew, on the journey.[210] Harcourt said that he and his men went to the region for "the honorable enlargement of your Maties Dominions, by annexing those goodly Countries, and spacious territories (inferior to no other parte of the world) to the Crowne of England," to propagate Christianity among the Indians, and profit from trade.[211] Harcourt's prose remained true to the romance of Raleigh, and he acknowledged Raleigh's path-breaking efforts for the English in Guiana. He also showed that the path had not yet led anywhere secure or lucrative. Harcourt considered Raleigh primarily useful for his inspiration: "how great and assured his hopes were, of gaining to our Countrey inestimable riches, and subduing to the Crowne of England a potent Empire, was effectually, and faithfully published to the world."[212]

Later in Harcourt's narrative, he performs what Patricia Seed has described as a "Ceremony of Possession" in which he climbed a mountain in Guiana called Comeribo. He gathered together both English and Indians to witness him take possession of the entire region "by turfe and twig" on behalf of King James. He claimed the "whole continent of Guiana lying

---

[210] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 39.

[211] Harcourt, "The Epistle Dedicatoire," *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626).

[212] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1613), B3 Recto.

betwixt the rivers of Amazones and Orenoque, and not being actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State: wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased."[213] Harcourt then deputized a Yao Indian who had lived in England since Walter Raleigh brought him there, named Anthony Canabre, to serve "as his [majesty's] subject," and "hold possess, and enjoy the same, to him, and to his heires for ever . . . paying yearely the twentieth part of Tobacco, Cotton-wooll, Annoto" as proof of their vassalage. Harcourt wrote that Canabre "most graciously received the possession upon these conditions, and for himselfe and his posteritie, did promise, to be true subiects unto the said Kings Maiestie, his Heires, and Successors."[214] Harcourt was confident that the Indians whom he made subjects understood what the ceremony, connoting their feudal relationship with Queen Elizabeth, meant. He had also been convinced that the continuous presence of Englishmen in Guiana, since Raleigh's voyage, showed a general acceptance of this relationship continuing. The Indians who greeted Harcourt had been in contact with English traders, who, "by the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh," had been in Guiana.[215] In reality, the Indians involved in these narratives most likely considered their gestures to be solidifications of trade relations and ongoing partnership, rather than surrendering their autonomy to a foreign monarch. Still, both sides would have had reason to hope for future collaborative actions based on their mutual participation in such a ceremony.

---

[213] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 55; Harcourt's "ceremony of possession" relies much more on the concept of alliance and vassalage than on "improvement" or clearing land. Patricia Seed identifies the former as typically English and the later as typically French. Perhaps the Harcourt wished to emphasize the rituals of monarchy to please his books intended audience, James I. See Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*.

[214] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 59-60.

[215] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 7.

The Impact of the Indian Slavery Taboo on Historical Sources

English and Dutch schemes, designs, and rhetorical performances of conquest had emphasized themselves as vindicators and saviors, and native peoples as grateful and submissive. The English rhetoric that justified the conquest of Guiana on the condition that there was no "Christian Prince of State," mirrored some of the language of the Papal Donation and Spanish justifications for conquest. Just as it resulted in wars between the Spanish and indigenous people in the Greater Antilles, Mexico, and Peru, when the Dutch and English applied the absence of Christian government to the islands of the Lesser Antilles, it often resulted in massacres rather than the idealized bloodless conquests envisioned by Raleigh and Keymis (see Chapter 4). The narrators of seventeenth-century histories of the Caribbean, Jean-Baptiste du Tertre, Charles de Rochefort, and, to a lesser extent, Richard Ligon, followed in the examples of predecessors Raleigh and Keymis. They presented hopeful messages that colonies could be established with the consent and willing conversion of the Indians, even if rapacious and immoral individuals had, and would, endanger this ideal. Like Las Casas before them, they were each motivated, through the taboos created through the Black Legend of Spanish conquest, and their own religious convictions, to oppose the enslavement of Indians, even if they disapproved of the culture of Caribbean Indians. They thought that their respective nations could colonize and convert natives more effectively and more kindly than their Spanish predecessors, but they, like Raleigh, also utilized some of the same ineffective validations (lack of Christian government, just war) for the conquest of lands held by indigenous people.

These authors repeated many of the negative stereotypes about Indians that had emerged from the Spanish period. Instead of arguing that these negative qualities made them natural slaves, however, these authors wrote about the timidity and weakness of the Arawaks, and

haughtiness and pride of the Caribs as deterrents to slavery, echoing Las Casas's *Relacion Brevisima* that the native people of Hispaniola were "unable to withstand hard work or suffering and render them liable to succumb to almost any illness."[216] These authors concluded that Indian slaves were not the robust or hard-working labor force necessary to build European colonies. The conclusion that Indians were unfit for hard labor was particularly relevant in the 1640s-1660s, when du Tertre, de Rochefort and Ligon lived in the Caribbean and wrote their histories, as this was a pivotal moment when sugar production and plantation agriculture swept through the islands. Rather than emphasizing the tragedy of using Indians in plantation work, as had Las Casas, these authors seemed to wish to avoid the trend returning. Their desire to prevent Indian slavery on a massive scale, for religious or humanist reasons, however, did not mean that the practice did not take place.

In the seventeenth century, most European missionaries took Vitoria's line of thinking, that Spaniards had exaggerated accusations of cannibalism because of Caribs' resistance to colonization, and cannibalism itself was not a reason to exclude them from conversion or inclusion in society.[217] Although the missionaries who discussed the culture of the Caribs made reference to anthropophagy, none of the seventeenth-century missionaries reported witnessing cannibalism themselves. Nicholas Canny points out that many descriptions of Cannibalism in the work of Charles de Rochefort were lifted from Jean de Léry, one of the first French Calvinist missionaries to Brazil, who wrote *History of a Voyage to a Land in Brazil* in 1578.[218] De

---

[216] Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies,* trans. and ed. Nigel Griffen (New York, NY: Penguin Classics, 1992), 10.

[217] Caribs were grouped together because they were the enemies of the Spanish or Spanish-allied Arawak Indians. De Rochefort wrote that the Spanish "imposer ce nom à toutes ces Nations, comment pourroit on prouver qu'elle l'eussent voulu accepter de la main de gens inconnus & ennemis," *Histoire naturelle*, 346. Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering."

Rochefort was never on islands inhabited by the Kalinago. As a French Huguenot missionary he lived on Tortuga (jointly held by the French and Dutch) and Curaçao. Although he perpetuated the impression of Caribbean Indians as cannibalistic, he did not advocate for the enslavement of Caribs, and neither did du Tertre nor Ligon. They seem to have accepted the critiques of Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans from the sixteenth century, who concluded that Indian slavery ought to be illegal, without caveat.

De Rochefort also mirrored the critical writings of the Spanish conquest period by singling out one particular nation as the heir to the Black Legend. He considered the English to be "the greatest enemies" of Caribbean Indians. As the Spanish had failed to live up to their evangelical ideals in the sixteenth century, so had the English in the seventeenth century (the French Huguenots, we are to understand, were literally practicing what they preached). According to him, the English lured Indians into their boats with "a thousand caresses" and brandy. As soon as the unsuspecting Indians were loaded, the English would lift anchor and take men, women, and children to their territories, where they would be slaves.[219] This story seems to be rooted in historical reality, reflecting the manuscript account of the English Hurricane prognosticator who took advantage of inebriated Indians to capture his "servant" Nicholas from Dominica (Chapter 1). However, sources reflect that the maltreatment or enslavement of Indians was not only an English endeavor.[220]

Another French missionary, Dominican Jean-Baptist du Tertre, admitted that the French had failed the indigenous population of the Caribbean. Du Tertre admonished the English,

---

[218] Canny, "A Protestant of Catholic Atlantic World?," 107.

[219] De Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle*, 531.

[220] Phillip Boucher's monograph *Cannibal Encounters* investigates the (previous) commonplace historical understanding that French colonists in the Caribbean (and elsewhere in the Atlantic) had better relations with the indigenous populations than the English. See Introduction.

French, Dutch, and Caribs equally for enslaving enemy indigenous populations. He wrote that the French and English bought both *Aroüages* and *Brasiliens* from Dutch traders in Guiana, who had purchased them as war captives from Caribs. The Caribs, he said, often reserved the Arawak women for their own "pleasures" (repeating tropes of sexual wantonness and immorality) while they sold the "men and the young male prisoners . . .to the French, Dutch, and English, according to the friendship and commerce between the Caribs and those nations."[221] His experiences as a Dominican missionary on St. Christopher, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, islands that had large Carib populations, give his information on the matter much more credibility than de Rochefort's blame of the English. Du Tertre's *Histoire générale* nevertheless echoed Las Casas when he described enslaved Arawaks as prone to dying of misery, and Caribs as preferring death to living as slaves.[222] We can confirm du Tertre's observation from anthropological research that the Kalinago culturally elevated a proud death over captivity, even if death involved being tortured at the hands of ones enemies. This did not mean, as du Tertre suggested, that Caribs did not endure lives of slavery.

Richard Ligon, the earliest historian of English Barbados, assured his readers (perhaps contrary to contemporary rumors) that Anglo-Barbadian colonists had "but a few" Indians, "fetcht from other Countries; some from the neighbouring Islands, some from the Main, which we make slaves."[223] Ligon indicated that Indian enslavement, although it occurred, betrayed the colonial goals of befriending and converting the indigenous population of the Caribbean. He was the original narrator of the story of Yarcio, one of the most famous Indian captives in early

---

[221] Du Tertre, *Histoire générale*, 2:484.

[222] Du Tertre, *Histoire générale*, 2:485-86.

[223] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 44.

modern literature and theater.[224] According to Ligon, Yarico was one of three Indian slave women on the plantation of Thomas Modiford, which Ligon managed. Yarico was free-born on "the Main" and met an English sailor who had come there to trade. "Her countrymen" attacked him, but Yarico took pity on the Englishman and harbored him in a cave. There, they became lovers and she fell pregnant. As soon as a group of Englishmen found and "rescued" the sailor, however, he betrayed Yarico and sold her into slavery on Barbados. Ligon concludes that the Englishman had "forgot the kindness of the poor maid, that had ventured her life for his safety, and sold her for a slave, who was as free born as he: and so poor Yarico for her love, lost her liberty."[225] In the narrative of Yarico, he is sure to cast the Englishmen who enslaved her as being particularly wicked and deceitful, and not emblematic of the colonial practices of most English settlers. This story also suggests, and has given historians the impression, that most Indians were captured in idiosyncratic and dramatic raids, rather than the warfare of settlement and conquest featured in the Spanish chronicles. The story of Yarico also presents a sharp contrast to the matter-of-fact way that he treats the enslavement of Africans, noting that those captives were the product of internal wars and trade (an indication that their enslavement was just). He did, however, note that the English did not baptize their slaves, which he found hypocritical in a colonial society that wanted to spread Anglicanism.[226] Although Ligon was not a missionary, his references through his *History* to humanist ideas reveal his commitment to social reform and harmony between ethnic groups in his vision of colonization.[227] Ligon, du

---

[224] Ligon's story of Yarico transformed into the opera "Inkle and Yarico" in the late-eighteenth century, and became more famous in the nineteenth century with "sentimentalizing 'anti-slavery' version that moved the first scene . . . to the African coast." Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 259.

[225] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 67, 77-78.

[226] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 72.

Tertre, and de Rochefort each disparaged Indian enslavement, especially in raids against free populations.

Despite prevalent stereotypes about the Indian's capacity or willingness to work, Ligon unwittingly advertised the benefits of Indian labor when he praised his plantation's female slaves as "better vers'd in ordering the Cassavie and making bread, then the negroes, we imploy for that purpose."[228] This is a rare favorable comparison of the skills of Indian slaves over African slaves. Ligon also thought highly of their knowledge of pottery and architecture, musing that the colonists ought "to procure an Indian or two, to come from that Island [St Vincents], and give us direction, which would be of infinite use and advantage, to our buildings in Barbadoes."[229] In addition to their skills in pottery and building, he also praised Indians for their medical skills: "the Indian women have the best skill to take them ['Chegoes' or fleas] out … I had ten taken out of my feet in a morning, by the most unfortunate Yarico."[230] Despite the diversity of labor that Ligon describes, scholars have used his narrative to argue that Indian slave labor on Barbados consisted of women doing the "chores"[231] usually reserved for female Irish domestic workers,[232] or cooking "cassava for the daily consumption of the plantation."[233] However, a close reading of Ligon's narrative shows that plantation owners compelled female Indian slaves to draw upon a diverse set of skills, comparable to the variety of tasks African slave women performed. The lists

---

[227] Susan Scott Parrish, "Richard Ligon and the Atlantic Science of Commonwealths," *William and Mary Quarterly* 67 (2010): 212.

[228] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 77.

[229] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 34-35.

[230] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 92.

[231] Handler, "Aspects of Amerindian Ethnography," 54.

[232] Breslaw, *Tituba*, 7.

[233] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 184.

of slaves from plantation records in Barbados reveal no higher frequency of female Indian slaves to male Indian slaves (see Chapter 4, Table 1). This undermines the notion that planters sought Indian slaves only to replace female domestic workers.

The received religious and political traditions of condemning Indian enslavement created a rhetorical emphasis in these histories on the differences between African and Indian slaves, which has often been replicated in modern histories. The information presented in all three of these accounts together, however, suggests commonalities rather than differences in the way Indian and African slave labor was employed. The emphasis on different labor roles for African and Indian slaves was the result of various contemporary stereotypes. Although it is debatable whether Las Casas directly encouraged the import of African slaves in favor of Indian slaves, the seventeenth-century missionaries were more unabashedly in favor of African slavery, even if they thought African slaves ought to be baptized.[234] De Rochefort seemed to be paraphrasing Las Casas most closely when he wrote that Caribbean Indians "are such enemies to severity, that those nations that take them for slaves, like the English, who by ruse take them from their places of birth, treat them rigorously, and they frequently die regretfully." He finished this thought with the suggestion that slaves of African descent were more robust. The tendency for Indians to die from hard labor was "quite the opposite of the negroes … who want to be treated roughly or else they become insolent, lazy, and disloyal."[235] Regardless of his negative opinions of "negroes," de Rochefort had a direct, and seemingly positive experience with the black population of Curaçao when he served as a minister there. He converted "some assembled blacks of an advanced age" after they had demonstrated their knowledge of the catechism and "precepts of the faith."

---

[234] Robert L. Brady, "The Role of Las Casas in the Emergence of Negro Slavery in the New World," *Revista de Historia de América* 61/62 (December-January 1966): 43-55.

[235] De Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle*, 455-56;

Although an advocate for the enslavement of people of African descent, he seemed impressed by "the sufficiency of piety" of "those catechumens."[236] His description of black slaves having a tendency towards laziness or insolence reveals more about the stereotypes that had begun to emerge about Africans (and would feature prominently in racist tropes), rather than his actual experience with them as converts.

Old World diseases disproportionately affected and killed the native population of America, compared to imported African slaves.[237] But there are many reasons to doubt that the contemporary slave owners and plantation managers actually prevented Indians from doing the same work as African slaves. Models of Spanish labor in the Caribbean featured Indian and African laborers working side-by-side in mines and sugar ingenios. If English, Dutch, and French colonists risked raiding Indian communities, which frequently led to battles and deaths, it seems unlikely that these laborers would have only performed a limited amount of labor. Du Tertre, for instance, wrote that the Caribs' proud and haughty natures caused them to refuse the degraded tasks associated with "les Négres," like planting Manioc. Du Tertre concludes that this attitude is why Indian slaves worked primarily as fisherman for the governors, officers, and other men of consequence that could afford them.[238] They seemingly used their access to fish to maintain an elevated position above the black slaves, using it as a commodity to exchange with them.[239] Ligon seems to concur, writing that Indian men on Barbados were owned by wealthy

---

[236] De Rochefort lists the names of the Indians and black slaves that he converted and baptized in Curaçao in 1649. He did so at the behest of the "lord D Luca of the castle Rootenburg where he is called the Governor of Amsterdam,": Charles de Rochefort to Classis van Amsterdam, 10 February 1649, Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 379.2.2.2.3.224, 6. Special thanks for Dr. Jeffrey Wayno for the translation of this letter from Latin to English.

[237] Alfred W. Crosby, *The Colombian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972).

[238] Du Tertre, *Histoire générale,* 2:486.

planters who used them as “footmen" or for the "killing of fish." Ligon wrote that the Indians would go for days "with their own bowes and arrows" and "kill as much fish as will serve a family of a dozen persons."[240]

Du Tertre's assertion that the Caribs negotiated their way to preferential treatment, and Ligon's description of Indian slaves leaving their plantations "for days" seem implausible, however. These assertions are, moreover, internally inconsistent with their own narratives. For instance, Ligon also said that even on Caribbean plantations with large labor forces, fishing only happened "twice or thrice a week" and required the teamwork of many servants (most likely not all Indians, if there were "but a few") to use the large nets known as seines.[241] It would not be worth the trouble of "procuring" and keeping an Indian slave to have them only labor for two or three times a week. Furthermore, evidence for joint fishing ventures shows that skills between the two groups of slaves, Indian and African, were highly transferrable, and there would be no need to have an Indian attached to that activity permanently if it were easier and less risky to purchase an African slave. Indeed, masters insisted Indian slaves teach their hunting and fishing techniques (such as nighttime torch fishing, poisoning, and using wooden spears) to African slaves.[242] Spanish precedents also demonstrate that the native skills, particularly desired in the enslaved pearl divers off the coast of Venezuela, were quickly taught to African slaves, who had been imported to Margarita as early as 1526.[243] In both cases, there is no further evidence beyond the rhetoric employed in these narratives that Indians enjoyed more liberty, or were more

---

[239] Du Tertre, *Histoire générale*, 2:491-92; Richard Price, “Caribbean Fishing and Fishermen: A Historical Sketch.” *American Anthropologist* 68 (1966): 1371.

[240] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 77.

[241] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 52.

[242] Price, "Caribbean Fishing and Fisherman," 1371.

[243] Warsh, “Enslaved Pearl Divers," 345-62.

effective in negotiating the terms of their labor than African slaves. This seems like wishful thinking on the part of Ligon and Du Tertre, champions of their nations' colonial projects, despite some pointed criticisms. It seems more likely that after Indians slave had taught their highly-valued skills, like fishing or hunting, to African slaves, they probably contribute to plantation agriculture similarly to African slaves: harvesting, performing domestic chore, and perhaps even learning new skills specific to sugar making.

Conclusion

This chapter investigated the rhetoric surrounding Indian labor, and how it developed out of Spanish myths about Caribs that were codified in laws, and then disseminated throughout Europe. The "Black Legend" of Spanish enslavement and mistreatment dissuaded future explorers and strategists from promoting Indian slavery. The Black Legend created Spanish stereotypes that English, Dutch, and French colonial supporters and missionaries were eager not to emulate. Instead, they promised to cooperate with indigenous people and treat them respectfully. However, the Spanish colonial experience also created models for acquiring and using Indian labor that French, Dutch, and English colonists would imitate, despite themselves. Coupled with the international acceptance of just war theory as a rationale to enslave captives, there were still many avenues to acquire Indian slaves.

The utilization of stereotypes about Carib Indians changed drastically from the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century to the English, Dutch, and French challenge in seventeenth century. Initially, the emphasis on their belligerence, sodomy, and cannibalism put them in the sub-human category of natural slave. The owners of sugar ingenios on sixteenth-century Española convinced local authorities, and the crown, to make exceptions for Carib slave raiding

so that more Indians might work on sugar mills. The New Laws, which limited ways to acquire Indian slaves, only resulted in these owners obscuring the extent of Indian labor used on their haciendas. This, in turn, influenced the rhetoric surrounding Indian labor. The same stereotypes about Carib ferocity, once a reason for their enslavement, were now utilized as an argument *against* enslaving them. The shame of Indian slavery also became palpable in the defensive or dramatic rhetoric accompanying descriptions of Indian slavery and labor in English, Dutch, and French ventures. As we shall see in the following chapters, the obfuscation of Indian slavery on plantations would continue in English and Dutch colonies. By the period of peak sugar production in the English Dutch and French Caribbean, the reputation for Indians as laborers in cane fields or boiling houses had disappeared, and modern historians have not thought to look for them there.

Part II: From Captives to Slaves
Chapter 3: Guiana

Introduction

The legacy and rhetoric of the Black Legend had warned English and Dutch explorers off referring to their Indian navigators, guides, translators, and porters as slaves. The English and Dutch preferred to call the Indians under their command "servants," or mentioned that they were "in" service during their voyages. Historian Alden T. Vaughn has written that Raleigh "seems to have rejected the use of force" with his gentle "indoctrination" of his Indian interpreters, perhaps twelve of whom came from Guiana.[244] However, this chapter demonstrates that Raleigh could create lasting diplomatic ties with Indian nations, while also paving the way for the exploitation of indigenous labor. In many ways, the long-term servants under Raleigh and his immediate successors in Guiana mirrored the Spanish concept of *naboría*. After the New Laws of 1542, labeling an indigenous person as a naboría helped Spanish masters avoid chastisement for keeping Indian slaves. Van Deusen describes naborías as "free servants who attached themselves willingly to Spanish masters" and thus "blurred the legal boundary between servant and slave."[245] Although Raleigh's narrative carefully describes his Indian servants in terms of voluntary loyalty, he also took unsuspecting Indians as captives, and took on indigenous prisoners of war in battles with the Spanish. Additional incidences of indigenous captivity, enslavement, and labor also emerge from the narratives of his contemporaries: Lieutentant Keymis, merchants of the Amsterdam-based Guiana Company, Dutch explorer Abraham Cabeliau, and Robert Harcourt.

Walter Raleigh had previously courted Native American allies to support English designs for his Roanoke expeditions. These divergent reactions of two of his Indian translators, Manteo

[244] Alden T. Vaughn, "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters, 1584-1618," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49, no 2 (April 2002): 341-342, 349.

[245] Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 6.

and Wanchese, during his attempt settle Roanoke Island, foreshadowed the various responses that Indians in the service of the English had to the Guiana ventures. Raleigh first sent a reconnaissance mission to Roanoke in 1584 and encountered these two indigenous men. The English indentified Manteo as a *werowance* (chief) of the Croatan Islanders, and Wanchese as one of the Roanoke people. Both Manteo and Wanchese agreed to join the Englishmen back to London, where they learned English from Thomas Harriot, a member of Raleigh's circle. They also taught Harriot a few Algonkian words, and gave him (and Raleigh) valuable information about Roanoke. Manteo, Wanchese, and Harriot all went on the next colonizing voyage back to Carolina in 1585.

While Manteo assisted the Englishmen and facilitated relations between them and the indigenous people, Wanchese resisted helping the colonists, and rejoined his people on Roanoke instead. After the initial friendly encounter, the English accused the Indians of theft, then burned their crops in retaliation. The ensuing conflicts between the English and the indigenous people pushed most of the colonists to leave, including Manteo, Harriot and two other native men, one named Towaye, on a passing ship of Sir Francis Drake in 1586. Only fifteen Englishmen remained, but they were no longer present when a second company came, with Manteo and Towaye again, in 1587. Assuming they had been murdered, Manteo joined the Englishmen who wanted to attack the local people to avenge their deaths. Manteo was christened in Roanoke "in reward for his faithfull service." This second company, like the fifteen men from the first, also disappeared.[246]

The story of Roanoke provides an example for the experiences of many indigenous people in what Jace Weaver calls the "Red Atlantic" during their initial encounters with

[246] Quoted in Vaughn, "Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 355. For fuller narratives of the Roanoke expeditions see: ibid, 346-354; Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 138-142; and Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (New York, NY: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993).

European explorers. The pattern established by Raleigh, as well as his predecessors Columbus in the Caribbean and Martin Frobisher in Canada, was to initiate, or attempt to initiate, communication, trade, and sometimes settlement. These initial contacts often started out smoothly, and might have lead to a mutual partnership in navigating new and foreign landscapes. These encounters could just as easily provoke resistance from the indigenous people, and an escalation of violence from the explorers, who still needed the manual labor and navigation skills provided by native people. Those whom they could not convince or control, they captured.

After sufficient reconnaissance, European adventurers might release these captives back into their native societies, when they no longer needed their location-dependent knowledge or physical efforts rowing and portaging supplies and sea-craft. But oftentimes, they were taken back to Europe and paraded before monarchs as symbols of conquest or alliance. Indigenous people stayed and received instruction in European languages to better serve their captor societies on later voyages as translators. For these Indians in Europe who remained with Europeans, but who were not sold into permanent slavery, baptism into Christianity was also a common event. [247] Baptism was simultaneously a gesture of accepting the culture of the captors, but also an extension of assurance from the captors, to their new co-religionists, that they were not slaves even if they were in "service." Like Manteo, Indians in service to Raleigh on his Guiana ventures would also accept both English culture and Anglicanism. They represent, at least according to European sources, both an acceptance of western and Christian culture, and acceptance of ongoing colonization efforts. But these Indians may have also viewed colonization

[247] Weaver describes the stories of numerous indigenous people, starting with the Vikings in Newfoundland, who came back to Europe with early explorers as captives. See "For He Looks Upon You as Foolish Children: Captives, Slaves, and Prisoners," in *The Red Atlantic,* 35-85.

like Wanchese: initially curious about the potential of exchange, but increasingly skeptical to the point of resistance to the colonial project, and ultimately refusing to facilitate it.

The help of indigenous people in Guiana was necessary. The simultaneous attempts of Spanish, English, Irish, Dutch and other nations to enter the region, which started in earnest in the 1580s, made it a "hyper-competitive space" where these European forces further complicated the already tense competition for trade among various indigenous groups.[248] Part of that competition included the slave trade networks, such as the captive market sites of Acamacari and Essequibo described in Raleigh's *Discovery*. The European explorers and merchants who entered Guiana attempted, but usually failed, to insert themselves into these networks, to hold fortresses, or to ensure territorial expansion. Demonstrations of dominance came in more intimate ways, by undermining the autonomy of individual Indians. In Guiana, both English and Dutch adventurers used Indian labor from the 1580s to 1620s, not only to explore the region, but to cut wood, produce annatto dye, and cultivate tobacco products. Furthermore, some Dutch settlers in the Pernambuco region of Brazil had already begun enslaving Indians to work on sugar mills, a practice that may have tempted settlers in Guiana.

To borrow the useful concept of non-institutionalized forms of coerced labor from Ira Berlin, this was the first "Charter Generation" in the many "Generations of Captivity" that Caribbean Indians would experience. As with the Charter Generation of black slavery, the positions of these Indian slaves were not codified in law, nor were the practices homogenous among captors. Indian slaves in Guiana, in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, were

---

[248] Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* xv.

not predestined to become property, nor have their children face similar fates.[249] It would be the second generation, explored in Chapter 4, who would experience the transition from these various forms of temporary captivities and forced labor to more permanent enslavement on colonial plantations and households in the Caribbean.

Portuguese Labor Practices in Amazonia

The previous chapter discussed the Spanish precedents for Indian labor practices and legal regulations on the mentality of later explorers, missionaries, and settlers; the Portuguese colonists in Brazil served as another model for organizing Indian labor in Guiana. In Spanish-held islands, the status of imported Indian was increasingly akin to slave rather than negotiated labor. The Spanish colonies closest to Guiana were Margarita Island and Trinidad, at the mouth of the Orinoco River. They were home to the native Guadquerí people, who were initially enslaved to work on the pearl beds discovered near the island. When the Guadquerís had died from disease, the Spanish turned to importing the Lucayans from the Bahamas. Then, they took the "Caribs" of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. Finally, the Spanish of Margarita and Trinidad turned to Brazilian Indians.[250] The Portuguese in Brazil, which formed the Western boundary of Guiana, had never passed laws similar to the New Laws of 1542 that protected Indians from enslavement within their own conquered territories. Neither did the Portuguese require documentation to prove whether cannibalism or a just war had occurred to warrant an Indian's enslavement, as the Spanish eventually required. Acquiring Brazilian Indians as slaves thus

[249] Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Boston, MA: Harvard Belknap Press, 2004).

[250] Molly Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers," 346-348.

became a major loophole for Spanish seeking native labor.[251] This means of acquisition would become a particularly relevant precedent for the English and Irish who attempted settlements in the Amazon River region, and the Dutch settlers who invested in sugar mills in the Portuguese territory of Brazil.

Sixteenth-century Brazil was a tantalizing place to settle because of the fertile soil that facilitated the juggernaut of sugar production, and the indigenous labor that facilitated it. Brazil had intrigued the Dutch since the 1530s, when sugar started flowing into Antwerp, and a number of merchants from the Low Countries started simultaneously buying mills for themselves in Pernambuco. The Dutch *Senhors de Engenho* (sugar millers) in Brazil accepted Indian slave labor on their plantations just as the Portuguese did, and they similarly relied on traditions of "just war" to acquire slaves.[252] During the Dutch Revolt, the warring countries were under a mutual trade embargo, but the Portuguese and Dutch continued to rely, surreptitiously, on each other for sugar via the Portuguese and salt via the Dutch. [253] At this time, the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the Stadthouder Orange family began to set their eyes on controlling the Pernambuco region in addition to settling there. The Iberian union of 1580 gave the Dutch an excuse to try to gain Portuguese possessions in the New World, including that particular territory.[254]

Unlike the Spanish, early Portuguese explorations in Brazil, starting in 1500, were more focused on expanding their global trade empire rather than territorial conquest. Nevertheless, Brazil, like the Guiana region to be settled later, would gradually transition from a place with

[251] Van Deusen, *Global Indios*, 11.
[252] J.A. Schiltkamp, "On Common Ground, Legislation, Government, Jurisprudence and Law in the Dutch West Indian Colonies: The Order of Government of 1629," *De Halve Maen* 70, no 4 (1997) 78-79.

[253] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 19-20.

[254] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade*, 95-96.

cooperative indigenous trade and resource extraction, to a place of coercive indigenous captivity and enslavement. In the early-sixteenth century, Portuguese merchants mostly looked for Brazilwood, which produced a reddish-purple tint, to sell to European drapers and tapestry makers. They capitalized on how men of indigenous Tupian-language groups already cut and hauled this wood as part of their normal labor. The Portuguese merchants gave the Tupi men knives and axes, which aided their cutting, as well as cloth and other manufactured goods, at *feitorias* (factories) along the coast in exchange for a part of their wood haul and food, such as cassava bread, prepared by Tupian women. These *fetorias* operated similarly to how Portuguese and other European merchants and traders operated along the African coast, being used primarily as sites for exchange and shipment rather than production. Robert Harcourt's narrative, as I will analyze below, demonstrates that he, too, used Indian labor to cut and haul valuable wood for English merchants in the same manner as described in Portuguese Brazil.

Initially, French privateers were the major challengers to Portuguese control of Brazil, convincing the Portuguese to move from a piece-meal, private system of merchants and forts, to a more focused colonial effort. After 1530, the Portuguese crown started granting captaincies to stimulate colonial efforts; each captain had control over the Indian slave trade, in addition to a stake in the dyewood trade and other economic activities. The captaincies failed to cement Portuguese colonies vis-à-vis resistant indigenous actors and competing French traders, but at least one, Pernambuco, established a sugar mill that demonstrated Brazil's potential to receive the technology already tested in the Canary Islands and Española. The crown sent a governor-general, Tomé de Sousa, along with administrators and Jesuit missionaries, to Brazil in 1549 to centralize and control (although not eliminate) the donatary captaincies. Portuguese *senhors de engenhos,* using their right over the slave trade, had labeled Tapuyas as savage, cannibalistic and

resistant to civilization, similar to how Spaniards had classified Caribs. Tupis, another indigenous tribe, were contrasted as the more cooperative Indians. In the 1560s, the demand for slaves outstripped the ability to capture and ransom Tapuyas through *entradas*, and Portuguese *senhors* began importing African slaves. Despite the early transition to African slave labor, in 1580s Pernambuco Indians still made up two-thirds of the laborers on sugar mills.[255] In further chapters, we will discuss how the Dutch presence in Brazil gave way to the eventual, and short-lived, conquest of Pernamubo in the 1620s.

English and Dutch Trade in Guiana: A Wedge between Iberian Empires

Dutch interest in Guiana was a natural outgrowth of the Dutch trade capitalizing on gaps in Spain's mercantile system. The Dutch found that smuggling slaves and manufactured goods to illicit Spanish importers called *rescatores* was a lucrative business, starting in Cuba as early as 1567. The rescatores had been dissatisfied with the monopolistic Spanish flotilla system, which only brought supplies and manufactures from Europe to the colonies annually. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Spanish government would struggle with colonists who "obeyed but did not comply" on laws restricting imports, and the Dutch would facilitate their non-compliance.[256] Raleigh spotted the ships of Balthazar de Moucheron, a merchant based in Middelburg, Zeeland during his journey in 1595, near the island Margarita and Cumaná.[257] De Moucheron had become acquainted with Raleigh through his brother, Pieter, who lived in London and was in the social circle of both Raleigh and Theodoor de Bry, the engraver and mapmaker who labeled "Caribana"

[255] Schwartz and Lockhart, "Brazilian beginnings," in *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazi,* Lockhart and Schwartz, eds (Reprint Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 182-201.

[256] Wim Klooster, *Illicit riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (Leiden, NL: KITLV Press, 1998) "Introduction" and 42; Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 21.

[257] Ralegh, *Discoverie*, Whitehead (ed) 179.

on an early map of the region.[258] However, Dutch merchants did not seem to share in the same grand ambitions of the region submitting itself to a foreign sovereign, as so grandly described in the narratives of Walter Raleigh and Lawrence Keymis.

Ironically, the only Spanish Fort on the Orinoco to survive the numerous Indian attacks against it, San Tomé, would not have done so if it were not for the illict trade from the Dutch.[259] Spanish Governor Antonio De Berrio had erected the fort at the mouth of the Orinoco in 1595, despite the neighboring indigenous populations constantly besieging it.[260] As I noted in Chapter 2, De Berrio had previously tried to enter the Orinoco in the 1580s, but indigenous forces had stymied that project. When the English and Dutch entered the Wild Coast in the 1590s, it was clear to them that they would have to win over the very natives who resisted European movements towards a permanent presence. The alliance would necessarily emphasize trade, rather than violent conquest. In addition to de Moucheron, other merchants from Zeeland began to trade on the Wild Coast. Guiana natives provided pearls, hides, and tobacco, and in exchange, the Dutch and English gave knives, axes, mirrors, and other manufactures. The indigenous people would then trade with other indigenous populations to facilitate a broader network of "Carib" alliances.[261] The Caribs saw trade with the English and Dutch as an opportunity to shift trade into the eastern parts of Guiana, away from the Lokono-Spanish alliance in the west that had re-oriented trade towards the Spanish. The consolidation of Carib information and trade networks also benefited the English and Dutch against the Spanish, and was probably how Raleigh would come to find and capture De Berrio during his first voyage to the region.

---

[258] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 21.

[259] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 71.

[260] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 27-28.

[261] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 21; Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 54.

Ferdinando, Martyn, and Whiddon and Raleigh, 1594-1595

Raleigh primed his first voyage in Guiana by sending English Captain Jacob Whiddon on a mission there in 1594. Whiddon brought back an Indian who would function the next year as his and Raleigh's interpreter. Vaughn thinks it likely that Whiddon brought several natives back with him, perhaps four, considering the number of interpreters on the later English voyages of Keymis and Harcourt.[262] There is a smaller chance that Raleigh's interpreter might have found himself in England via English privateers in the region who attacked Spanish vessels. [263] Whiddon is the most likely conduit however, even if how he acquired this interpreter is unknown (he did not write a narrative of his voyage). There are a number of possibilities, including that these Indians came voluntarily, convinced that they might help their home communities resist Spanish incursions if they left with Whiddon. They may have also been purchased by Whiddon from the Spanish, at one of the locations that Raleigh notes that captive exchanges took place: Acamarcari, Essequibo, or Bouroma. That would be one way to account for how Raleigh came to mention these Indian slave markets in his narrative, despite not having visited these sites himself. Whether the service of these Indians was performed under voluntary good will, curiosity, diplomacy, or as purchased captives remains a mystery. Once living in London, at Raleigh's house on the Thames, they wouldn't have had the resources to leave if a once-voluntary position had turned undesirable or abusive.

Raleigh notes that he had one of these Indians "carried out of England" when Raleigh and Whiddon left for the Guiana the next year in 1595. The Indian interpreter is never named. He might have been a native of Trinidad, since he almost certainly helped to arrange De Berrio's

[262] Vaughn, "Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 359-360.

[263] Lorimer discusses the presence of English privateers coming to Guiana, before Raleigh, who fueled the rumors of gold and a "New Peru" to exploit. Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 11.

capture there and communicate with the two Indians who first approached Raleigh via canoe when they initially anchored at the "Puerto de los hispanioles" (Port-of-Spain, Trinidad). One of them was a "cacique or lord of a people called Cantyman" who had known Whiddon from his previous visit. They informed Whiddon and Raleigh, through their interpreter, "what strength the Spaniardes had, how farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Anthonio de Berreo the governour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of Guaina, but was not." Through these indigenous informants and Captain Whiddon, Raleigh knew that capturing de Berrio would provide additional layers of reconnaissance necessary for his own successful voyage. Perhaps Whiddon and Raleigh understood that because of the trauma of the Spanish conquest, the indigenous population needed to be convinced to trust Raleigh. Raleigh explained that he was the enemy of Spain and the servant of Elizabeth, who "delivered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed." The Indians, who heard Whiddon and Raleigh blaming the Spanish for Indian mistreatment and enslavement through an Indian interpreter, would have noted if the interpreter was under duress and their statements rendered hypocritical. However, the further interactions between the indigenous population indicate some trust developing, at least between some of the caciques and the English. Whiddon, Raleigh, and their interpreter had effectively conveyed that an alliance with the English was preferable to enslavement under the Spanish. Some of these assurances worked, or were otherwise unnecessary because of previous voyages of English merchants, including Whiddon himself, to the region. Unfortunately, Whiddon died at this early stage of Raleigh's voyage, and he was buried on the island of Trinidad.[264]

Despite the grandiose title of Raleigh's work, suggesting that he traveled throughout the entire region between the Orinoco and the Amazon, Raleigh remained relatively close to the

---

[264] Raleigh, *Discoverie of Guiana,* (Whitehead, ed), 132-134.

delta of the Orinoco River near the Caribbean coast. His "discovery" was mostly that he could tap into sophisticated information networks of the region, considering that both the indigenous people and the Spaniards had been encountering each other for the previous hundred years.[265] After Raleigh and his men sacked the city of St. Joseph's, avenging the Indians who had charged the Spaniards with enslavement and torture, the English ventured forth up the Orinoco. However, they needed Indian pilots, and took many without their consent.

Raleigh writes that without Indian pilots, they would have "wandred a whole yeere in that laborinth of rivers." Over the course of his narrative, they use a number of Indian pilots, acquiring them in the same manner that Spaniards had enslaved Indians over the past one hundred years: as resistant, as war captives, or through ransoming them from previous captors. Their first pilot was an old Indian man named Ferdinando, whom Raleigh acquired after he "espied a smal Canoa with three Indians" and then overtook it (although he says the Indians were assuaged when he promised to do them no harm). The second was "Our old pilot of the Ciawani" whom they took as a hostage "to redeeme Ferdinando," after Ferdinando was captured by a group of Indians who considered him a spy for bringing "a strange nation into their territorie to spoyle and destroye them." Ferdinando escaped, but Raleigh kept the old Indian anyway because Ferdinando was lost in this part of Guiana himself.[266] Thirdly, Raleigh took Matyn, previously a captive Pilot of the Spanish. They came across Martyn after battling and chasing off some Spaniards, hiding with other "Arwacas" in the woods who had been Spanish pilots and "rowed their Canoas." Although Raleigh seems to have let the other Indians flee, he says he "kept the chiefest for a Pilot, and carried him with me to Guiana."[267]

---

[265] Whitehead, "Introduction," in Ralegh, *Discoverie of Guiana,* 3-7.

[266] Ralegh, *The Discoverie of Guiana,* Whitehead (ed), 156-158.

Regardless of aggressive maneuvers that Raleigh employed to find Indian pilots, he took pains to advertise to the reader how a more gentle English manner could win over the Arawaks from the Spanish. When he first met Martyn, Martyn was afraid that Raleigh and the English "would have eaten them" because the Spanish had convinced the Arawak that the English were cannibals (Spanish slander was not particularly creative). Raleigh reported that once the Arawaks felt more secure, they acknowledged that the Spaniards "tooke from them both their wives, and daughters daily, and used them for satisfying of their owne lusts." Raleigh then explained to his readers, and we presume the Indians, that the English were not inclined to take "so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote" without the "contentment" of the nations, although Raleigh had found it difficult, among his own men, to prevent "the meaner sort from spoile and stealing." His means of apology was that he "caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to know of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to the uttermost demand."[268] Raleigh's Indian servants were his means of success in exploring, gaining information, navigating, and even apologizing for the actual and metaphorical wrong turns in his journey. In their seeming guilelessness, they provided an audience for Raleigh to express his self-promotional rhetoric, and his slander of the enemy Spaniards. However, the stories of Raleigh's Indian compatriots, stitched together, demonstrate that they, and not Raleigh, were the actual agents of discovery in the region.

Raleigh left the region without finding the gold mines he sought, nor the fabled Emperor El Dorado ruling over the kingdom of Manoa. He did bring Indians back to London, though, and he forged a few lasting diplomatic connections in Guiana that helped future English adventurers.

---

[267] Ralegh, *The Discoverie of Guiana,* Whitehead (ed), 164.

[268] Ralegh, *The Discoverie of Guiana*, Whitehead (ed), 164-166.

Raleigh's interpreter facilitated an exchange with a cacique Topiawari wherein Raleigh left behind two of his men to learn native languages, and Topiawari sent his son Cayowaroco and three other Indians to London to learn English. It was this connection that Raleigh advertised as the best means of finding gold mines on future visits, as Topiawari and the Aromaia people showed Raleigh plates and images they had made of gold. Unfortunately, Topiawari died in 1596, and Cayowaroco came back to Guiana along with Lawrence Keymis.[269] Raleigh also brought back another Yao named Leonard Ragapo, the "signorie of Cooseberry," who was Christened and lived in England (including in the Tower) with him until traveling back at some point in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[270]

William, Gilbert, "A Pilot against his wil," and Lawrence Keymis, 1596

Keymis's follow-up voyage to Guiana the next year was meant to shore up Indian alliances further east of the Orinoco. He took with him "John Provosot, my Indian Interpreter," "Gilbert my pilot" and William from the Caw River to help him navigate the area surrounding the Wiapoco (see Appendices for list of rivers). He met "William" on the "Cawo" (Caw River, French Guiana) when he encountered a group of Yao Indians eager for assistance. Through his interpreter John Provost, the Yao chief Wareo related how the Arawaks had chased them from the Orinoco region with the help of their Spanish allies. Keymis referred to the Arawak as "a vagabond nation of Indians" who "serve and follow the Spanish," but as Neil Whitehead and Benjamin Schmidt point out, the designations of "Arawak" or "Carib" that permeate these texts do not often align with modern ethnography, and are almost always a way for the authors to

---

[269] Raleigh, *Discoverie of Guiana*, Whitehead (ed) 185; Vaughn, "Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 361.

[270] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, 18-19; Whitehead "The *Discoverie* as *enchanted text*," In *The Discoverie of Guiana*, 30; Vaughn, "Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 367.

communicate political alliances ("follow the Spanish") rather than ethnic identities.[271] The impression that they were "Vagabonds" may have also been more a reflection of the general mobility and displacement of many of the Indians of this region. Because the Spanish-allied Arawaks had pushed out the Yaos, it was the Yao that Keymis identified as potential allies of the English. Keymis said one of the reason that the Yaos moved eastward, away from the Spaniards, was slavery, and that the "Spaniards first began to borrow some of their wives," then wanted Wareo's wife, which he refused. Wareo responded by attacking the Spanish. Indian enslavement, or at least threatened Indian enslavement, had dispersed this native community. It had the secondary effect of making them amendable to an English alliance to challenge the Spanish. Keymis considered the Yao, along with "the Charibes of Guanipa, the Crawannas amonst the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaios . . . Amarpagotos, Cassipagotos, Pupagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all readie, on what side soever the Spaniard shal stirre, to fight against" the Spanish.[272] Although many of these Indian tribes either consolidated, disappeared, or were falsely identified to begin with, the Yao would continue to feature prominently in English and Dutch narratives of early explorations.

Keymis, who bore witness to how Raleigh both commandeered and negotiated for Indian labor, repeated many of these practices in his second journey to Guiana. When he saw a canoe of three Indians, one "a servant to Berreo," he took them as captives without hesitation, most likely considering this an act of just war against Spanish allies.[273] When Indians were not affiliates of the Spanish, Keymis expressed himself more sheepishly, in the hopes of exculpating himself.

---

[271] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana*, B2 Verso; Whitehead, "The *Discoverie* as *enchanted text*," in *The Discoverie of Guiana*, 45-52; Schmidt, "Ralegh's Courteous Conquest" in *The Discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh,* Schmidt (ed), 26.

[272] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana,* B2 verso, D4 recto.

[273] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana,* D verso.

When his ship separated from the rest of his party, he and his crew "were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his wil." He writes that he intended to have him "returned with [a] reward to his contentment, but he would not [return]." He was nervous that stealing this pilot would lead to an act of vengeance, as had happened "upon the coast of Ginnie, in the yeare 1566, and againe at Dominica."[274] Keymis clearly saw the cycles of violence inherent to slave-raiding practices, especially on Kalinago-occupied islands such as Dominica. Keymis knew he was in a much too vulnerable a position to take captives indiscriminately.

Although Keymis and Raleigh forced Indians into roles of rowers, translators, and navigators, they still did not consider their crimes on par with the "perpetuall slavery under the Spaniards."[275] In contrast, Keymis characterized the servitude of these Indians as temporary, or a transitional phase before Indians became something akin to naborías. Keymis emphasized how a sort of camaraderie developed soon after taking the pilot and he wanted to stay with the English. However, the indigenous person may have also felt that he had no other safe option. As Raleigh described with Ferdinando, an indigenous community might perceive that any Indian pilots with the English might have been turned into spies, and would not be welcomed back. Indeed, Ferdinando had not returned to this community of origin after serving Raleigh. Keymis found that Raleigh's "Indian Pilot Ferdinando . . .now abideth neere the head of Dessekeebe, [and] is one of this mans [Wareo's] subjects."[276]

As with Raleigh's journey, Keymis did not find the wealth of gold mines that he was seeking, but he succeeded in recruiting at least one additional native of Guiana to go back to

---

[274] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana*, E recto.

[275] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana,* B3 recto.

[276] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana,* B2 verso.

England with him. When he left the Yaos, Keymis reported that one of the pilots, who volunteered to take him further west to the Orinoco, had become so curious about England that they volunteered to venture back with Keymis. Although it is not clear, this may be the pilot named "Gilbert" mentioned at another point in the journey.[277] These Indians may have been enthusiastic travelers, as Keymis suggests, or, more likely, they considered their voyage a diplomatic mission whereby the information they gave the English would be reciprocated with valuable information to bring back to their native communities.

"These Present Indians," Arymowacca, Cayariwara, and Abraham Cabeliau, 1597

The Yao community near Essequibo, which accepting English allies, also welcomed the Dutch. In the same year as Keymis's voyage, 1596, Dutch merchants from Zeeland built a fort where the Cuyuni, Mazaruni and Essequibo rivers meet. Unfortunately, it was destroyed a year later by the Spanish.[278] Perhaps counting on the support from the indigenous community, the Dutch merchants were not deterred. Just a year later, in 1597, Nicholaes de Haen, a merchant based out of Amsterdam, made moves to scout the Wild Coast for future points of encounter with indigenous traders. First, he sought a reprieve from the usual tax on convoys and trade licenses for merchants operating outside of the Netherlands. The States General granted it as an encouragement for de Haen, and other merchants, to continue operating in both the East and West Indies, especially as it was a risky venture that often provoked fighting with the Portuguese or Spanish.[279] De Haen hired Abraham Cabeliau as one of his captains. Cabeliau wrote the first

[277] Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana,* B3 verso, B4 recto. This pilot may be the "Gilbert" that Keymis mentions on D and D verso.

[278] Wim Klooster, "The Guianas and the Caribbean Islands," in *The Dutch in the Americas, 1600-1800: A Narrative History with the Catalogue of an Exhibition of Rare Prints, Maps, and Illustrated Book from the John Carter Brown Library* (Providence, Rhode Island: The John Carter Brown Library, 1997) 61.

account of Dutch trade on the Wild Coast for the Staten Generaal, as a way for them to assess whether the tax exemption would pay off for the new Dutch Republic.[280] Cabeliau wrote that Indians "of the nation Geribus [Carib] and Jau [Yao]" approached them near the Cayenne river and wondered if they were English. They explained that they were Dutch, but similarly friendly. More Indians came "of the nation Hebaio [Sapayo] and Arwaccas [Arawak]" who continued to visit their ship as long as they were near the Cayenne. The Cayenne, located near the Wiapoco and Caw in present-day French Guiana, was the same region explored by Keymis on his second voyage. The Sapayo, like the Yao along with factions of the Arawak and Carib, are some of the same tribes mentioned in Keymis's text as being enemies of the Spanish.

Cabeliau then met and docked his ship nearby the English captain John Meysigne from London. From the Cayenne, they ventured to "the river Cauwo, and there we found living the Yao nation, and from there brought, with their free will, these present Indians, one named Arymowacca, around from what we can understand 40 years old, and another [named] Cayariwara around twenty years old, and together with a boat full of wood, being in the manner and color of Brazil wood and furthermore tobacco and hitherto unknown to me, deer pelts."[281]

Cabeliau had traveled with, and then presented these Yaos to the States General, along with the natural resources of Guiana, as promise of future trade between the merchants and the Yao, and the bounty of Guiana's resources. Cabeliau wrote that despite Spanish ambitions and

[279] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 21.

[280] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 25-26.

[281] " 'tanderdaegs hebben wy onze jacht gesonden opwaerts nae de riviere Cauwo, ende hebben aldaer gevonden woonende de natie Jaio, ende van daar gebrocht met haren vryen wille dese Jegenwoordige Indianen, den enen genaemt Arymowacca, out omtrent, zoo wy connen verstaen, 40 jaren, ende den anderen Cayariwara oudt omtrent twintich jaren, midtsgaders daerby, een jacht vol hout, zynde een maniere ende colour van Brazilhout ende voorts toebaccaende noch meer andere (bij mij onbekende) drogheryen." Translation from Hulsman's transcription of "Verclaringe van de onkenede ende onbeseylde voiage van America beginnende van de Riviere Amzonis tot het Eylant van de Trinidad toe," overgegeven aan de Staten-Generaal dor A. Cabeliau. 1599 februari 3. 1 omglad. Nationaal Archief, Staten Generaa: Loketkast. NA_1.01.07_12563.2, in "Nederlands Amazonia," 258.

the presence of sixty cavalry and one hundred musketeers along the Orinoco, they still left the "whole coast being presently unconquered" ("de gantsche custen alsnoch ongeconquestert zijnde") because the "nation of the Caribs daily violently resist them" ("de Natie genaemt Charibus hen dagelycx geweldichlicken wederstaen"). As a further persuasion to the States General, Cabeliau mentioned that the Englishmen they had encountered were still searching for the "Rio El Dorado," implying that here was still a chance that even greater riches than dye-woods and timber lay ahead. Cabeliau and his men followed Walter Raleigh's description of a gold mine on the river Caroni, but could not find one; Cabeliau's Indian informants, including "our present Indians," who had accompanied them back to the Netherlands, confirmed that there was indeed a gold mine, but it had been covered in a flood. Anthropologist Neil Whitehead confirms the existence of this mine through Spanish sources, so Cabeliau's Yao informants, as they had been with the English, were earnest in their aid.[282]

Cabeliau's account gestures at the ambitions of some Dutch adventurers, if not the States General itself, for a slice of Dutch control on the Wild Coast. His emphasis on the vast and unconquered territory, combined with the Yao people, receptive to Dutch military alliance and trade, and the tales of Spanish impotence compared to the Carib, were all convincing arguments to continue attempts to settle, or at least establish factories, in the region. Members of the Yao nation continue to appear in the voyages of English and Dutch contemporary merchants who left brief documentation of their journeys. Englishmen John Ley visited the Wild Coast three times in the late-sixteenth century. He referred to a Yao guide on the Cawo river as "my Indian," whom

[282] Cabeliau, "Verclaringe" in Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 260; Neil Whitehead has confirmed that the Caroni mine was probably real. He considers Raleigh's discovery of the Caroni mine to be one of his few uniquie "discoveries" compared to the Spanish who came before him, "Introduction," *The Discoverie of Guiana*, 19. Gerrit Bos argues against the historiographic tradition where all information given by Indians is treated as willfully misleading. See Bos, "Introduction" in *Some Recoveries in Guiana Indian Ethnohistory*, Vol. 6. Anthropology Series (Amsterdam, NL: Vrij Universiteit Uitgeverij, 1998).

he admired for his ability to navigate by the stars. Joyce Lorimer hypothesizes that Ley's Indian guide might have previously helped Keymis, who also acquired his guide William through the Yao people of the Cawo river. [283] It seems that although the Yao might have been culturally related to either the Carib or Arawak, they alligned themselves with neither powerful indigenous group, and threw in their lot with their new trading partners, the English and the Dutch. Unfortunately their gamble did not pay off; the Yao, along with other smaller nations the Warao, Nepoyo, and Guiano, did not survive future Spanish attacks and we know little about them beyond their aid in these early merchant and exploratory ventures.[284]

Jan and the Dutch Guiana Company, 1605

The position of the Yao vis-à-vis the Dutch appears to have been just as mutually beneficial as with the English. Based on the reconnaissance of Cabeliau, merchants in Amsterdam formed the Guiana Company around 1605. In the same year, a member of the Dutch Guiana Company purchased the services of an Indian named "Jan" with tobacco and had taken him to Amsterdam. In Amsterdam, he was abandoned by the Company.[285] Arrangements that seemed promising and mutually beneficial on the coast of Guiana might have been hollow once these Indians arrived in Europe. Surely, the "payment" Jan received in tobacco did not cover the time spent with his employer across the Atlantic, nor afford him a secure position once he reached Amsterdam. This context stretches the credulity of this exchange as voluntary, compensated labor. If Jan were lucky, he may have returned to Guiana as the merchants from

---

[283]"John Ley's exploration of the Lower Amazon, 1598" in Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* 132-136; ibid 24-26.

[284] Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering," 362.

[285] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 63.

Amsterdam continued to travel to the region. They were successful enough, or at least had reason to hope for further success, that directors of the Guiana Company actually asked for a patent from Prince Maurits in 1611. Maurtis did not have the same overarching authority of the States General, however, as he was only the provincial executive of Holland, where the Amsterdam Guiana Company was based.[286] The patent supported continued trade, rather than promoting any formal colonization of the Guiana territory. This lightly-regulated partnership between indigenous actors, private merchants, and provincial governments would characterize Dutch efforts on the Wild Coast until the late-seventeenth century, even as the state-sponsored West Indies Company acquired more control over Caribbean islands and Brazil. Harcourt notes that during his journey, the "Dutchmen" took the "Towne of Todos los Santos in Brazill" but did not get further possession of the land "by reason of the firmnesse of the Country people unto the Portugalls."[287]

Martyn, Anthony Canabre, and Robert Harcourt, 1609

In March of 1609, Robert Harcourt and his men anchored in the Bay of Wiapoco, accompanied by two Indians originally from Guiana. One was named Martyn, an indigenous "Lord," from a village named Caripo near the Wiapoco River.[288] The second was Anthony

---

[286] Prince Maurtis was the Stadhouder of the provinces Holland, Zeeland, Guelders, Overijssel and Utrecht at this time. The government of the United Provinces of the Netherlands during the revolt had both representative government through the *Staten-Generaal*, and chosen executives of provinces which gestured at the more feudal and princely past of the country for their role in marshalling military forces during the revolt. See Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 59-60. Hulsman transcribed many of the Guiana Company documents housed in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, and made them available in the appendices of his dissertation. They document the company's activity with the indigenous people of Guiana, although they do not contain very much additional information about Indians themselves.

[287] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 82-83.

[288] It is unlikely that this is the same Martyn that was once a Spanish pilot captured by Raleigh, as Harcourt mentions that he had only been in London for the past four years, and the first Martyn had met Raleigh in 1595. It

Canabre. There, a group of Indians approached Harcourt and his retinue in "two or three Canoes, as well to learne of what Nation wee were, as also to trade with us, who understanding that wee were English men boldly came abroad us." One of these Indians could speak English and "was knowne to some of my company to bee an Indian, that sometime has been in England and served Sr. John Gilbert many yeeres."[289] Sir John Gilbert was Raleigh's nephew, a connection that indicates that this Indian, also named "John," might have been the same "John Provost" or "John of Trinidad" that had accompanied Lawrence Keymis."[290] As the presence of John in the welcome party to the Wiapoco reassured Harcourt greatly, the return of Martyn and Anthony Canabre to the Wiapoco region filled the Yao with joy, and most likely reaffirmed their trust in the English. Under the guidance and translations of John, the Yao relieved Harcourt's men with food. In exchange, Harcourt gave them knives, beads, "Jewes Trumpets," and "such toies." John also facilitated the introduction between Harcourt and "the principall Indian" of the Wiapoco, Carasana, who was ruling in Martyn's absence.[291]

Although it is not clear from Harcourt's account exactly how long John had spent in England, his English was better than his other translator, "the Indian Martyn their countryman, whom I brought with mee out of England." Harcourt writes that the Indians are very joyful to see Martyn, having considered him dead since they had not seen him for four years," indicating that Martyn had probably arrived in England after the voyages of either Charles Leigh, who explored

---

also seems unlike because Harcourt's Martyn is described as a chief of the Yao in the Oyapock region and someone had been ruling in his stead, whereas the previous Martyn was a Spanish servant captured nearer to the Orinoco. Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 18-19.

[289] Harcourt, *Relation of a voyage to Guiana* (1613), C3.

[290] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 10. In the 1626 edition, Harcourt adds an explanation that John's conversion to English culture was so complete, that at his death he requested singing a Psalm and that John had said he died "a Christian, yea (as he added) a Christian of England. See also Vaughn, "Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 363.

[291] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 6.

the region from 1604-1606, or the aforementioned John Ley.[292] The third named Indian who accompanied Harcourt was "Anthony Canabre, who was a Christian." He had lived in England for fourteen years, the longest of any Guiana Indians mentioned in these texts, meaning he probably arrived after either Whiddon's initial journey in 1594 or Raleigh's 1595 journey. Although the recognition was not immediate, the Yaos eventually welcomed him as well; they were glad that he wasn't dead after so long away.[293]

On May 9th, 1609, Harcourt and his men arrived at the Amazon River. He wrote that the river "riseth and floweth from the mountains of Peru," just as the maps from the mid-sixteenth century had shown, connecting the Inca and its supposed vassal state in Manoa.[294] Harcourt still associated the Amazon with the wealth of the Incas, and sought Indian allies to help him reap whatever Guiana had to offer. In addition to the Yaos that Harcourt met in the Wiapoco, he wished to broker peace between the inland Caribs and the more coastal Yaios, Arwacas, Sappaios, Paragotos; according to Harcourt, the latter tribes had fled towards the Amazon "as have bene chasd away from Trinidado, and the borders of Orenoque, by the Tyranny of the Spanish," a similar description to the one given in Keymis's narrative. The Caribs were willing to enter into an alliance with the English, but refused their offers to treat with the other tribes. The Caribs understood that friendly alliances with either the English or Dutch would give them leverage in the case of Portuguese *entradas*, but the English simply did not have any leverage over them to will a peace between the Caribs and the Yaos, Arwacas, Sappois, Paragotos. The latter tribes had all allied to constrain the "Charibes of the Sea-coast" but they "beare no harty

[292] Joyce Lorimer notes other contemporary adventurers to Guiana who did not leave the extensive narratives, whom I have not analyzed here, including the Frenchman Renery Marée who came in 1602, Englishman John Sims in 1604, Englishman Robert Dudely under the patronage of the Duke of Tuscany of 1608. Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the Amazon*, 23-27.

[293] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 11.

[294] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 4.

love the one Nation to the other." The inland Caribs who lived in the mountainous area, however, "have as yet no peace at all: fr they doe oftentimes come downe upon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cuase of war & hatred amonst them."[295]

When pressed, the English sided with the Yao and Leonard Ragapo of Cooshebery, the strongest and most durable alliances of any that Raleigh had formed. Ragapo had been baptized after visiting England with Raleigh, and had come to meet Harcourt "for the great love he did beare to Sir Walter Raleigh, and our Nation."[296] In the Cayenne River region, the ties between the English and the Yao proved to be a strategic military misstep. Leonard Ragapo was mortal enemies with Arrawicary, leader of the Caribs of Cayenne. Harcourt notes that the English had found Arrawicary "trusty and faithfull to our Nation: but to our friend Leonard of Cooshebery, hee was a mortal enemie. . .I laboured to reconsile to make them friends, but could not effect it by any meanes." Harcourt was committed to peace for the sake of trading with both the Yao and Carib, but eventually Ragapo convinced Harcourt's men to fight for the Yao.[297] The alliance with the Yaos, to the detriment of continuing to develop a relation with the Carib, was most likely a limiting factor in English expansion in the region. There is little to suggest that the Yao, unlike the Carib, had linguistic and trade connections throughout the Caribbean: the mountainous upland of Guiana, the Caribbean coastline, and the islands of the Lesser Antilles.

Despite the set-backs of this battle, Harcourt remained optimistic about the chance for the English to form an alliance with the Carib as well. At the house of Arrawicary, he "left foure or five of my Company, thereby to hold amnity and friendship with the Charibes, to learne their

[295] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 25.

[296] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 18-19.

[297] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 23-27.

language, and keepe peace beweene them and the Yaios, Arwaccas, and other Nations their allies."[298] Harcourt wrote that the Indians, in general, accepted them "so free and so friendly" and "with love and good liking" that he was sure the associates he left behind would create a vigorous trade with the Indigenous population.[299] The indigenous trade goods from Guiana, "Cotton wooll, Tobacco, Suger-Canes, divers goods and commodities for Dyers," seemed to compare favorably to the "Cuchenile, Anir, and Cotton wooll" produced by New Spain.[300] Interestingly, despite the mention of sugar, Harcourt continued to compare Guiana with New Spain (present-day Mexico) rather than the contemporary sugar giant of Portuguese Brazil. Perhaps Harcourt was more impressed with the flourishing contraband tobacco trade between English plantations and Spanish settlements of San Tomé and Port of Spain (Trinidad), which Joyce Lorimer estimated as peaking around Harcourt's voyage in 1609.[301]

Harcourt may have also wanted to concentrate on dyewood production, as he seems to have had an indigenous labor force in place to help with this particular economic activity. Harcourt praised the wide variety of decorative woods available in Guiana which were "cut downe, dressed, and brought to us by the Indians, and by that meanes gathered togeather against the arrivall of our shipps, wherby within 6 monthes, or the space of a voyage, great store and many Tunnes may be had in readines to be returned home, without any toyle, or labour of ours."[302] Harcourt does not elaborate upon how the English avoided laboring while the Indians cut and hauled wood for them. Trade and alliance-formation may have provided enough

[298] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626) 23.

[299] Harcourt, "Preface," *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1613).

[300] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1613) B2 Verso.

[301] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlements*, 44.

[302] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 49.

inducements for Indians to perform these tasks. Or, perhaps, the English were now turning towards Portuguese precedents of woodcutting with the help of Indian slave labor. In light of the Black Legend, English travelers, although perhaps more cautious and self-critical that their Iberian predecessors, were not immune from the combination of ambition, greed, ignorance, and desperation that motivated them to force indigenous people to labor on their behalf. Throughout his voyage, Robert Harcourt and his men sought Indians to "safely rowe their boats, night by night repare their lodgings in the woods, & daily use their care and beast endeavours to discover and prevent all dangers that might happen to them, to guide them, serve them, and provide them meate."[303] Harcourt's summary of the labor performed by Indians is consistent with the other narratives that have been presented in this chapter, and all consistent with the uses of Indian captives and slaves in both Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence.

Harcourt's advertisements of the region, with explicit comparisons to New Spain, and implicit suggestions of sugar, dyewood, and tobacco production, worked to a certain extent. In the same year as he published his *Relation*, 1613, Harcourt received a patent from the Crown from the Guiana Company. Joyce Lorimer writes that the trade did not benefit the Crown's revenues in the way he promised, however, as both the tobacco and Spanish prizes that English merchants caught were smuggled into England, commonly Dartmouth, to avoid paying customs. The Spanish were also actively trying to contain the contraband trade, and pushed English plantations closer to the Amazon between 1611-1620, and closer to the hostile Portuguese.[304]

---

[303] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 58.

[304] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlements*, 40-44, 50-51.

Indian Slaves in Early Tobacco Cultivation

Raleigh had maintained his interest in Guiana throughout his imprisonment in the Tower of London, which had started in 1603 after Elizabeth's death. He subsidized Thomas Roe's voyage to Guiana from 1610 to 1611 since he wished to confirm the presence of the mines of the Orinoco River mentioned in the narratives of previous adventurers to the region. Roe was there at the same time as Harcourt, and also took advantage of Indian pilots; a brief account of his voyage mentions that they entered Guiana "by Indian Boates," and that indigenous people affirmed the presence of gold in the region, although he did not find a gold mine itself. Roe himself left Guiana by 1615, but he left behind a deputy named Matthew Morton near the Orinoco, where Morton began growing and exporting tobacco.[305] An English Prisoner of the Spanish, Captain Thomas Currey, wrote that by 1610 the Dutch had also successfully planted tobacco in Guiana.[306] The Twelve Year Truce from 1609-1621 is one reason for the increase in international commerce, but since the Dutch had always thrived on smuggling with Spanish colonists, this was probably the result of ongoing trends rather than a brief window of opportunity. The truce also did not prevent attacks from the English and Dutch against the Spanish; in 1613, Dutch privateers and their Carib allies attacked Spanish-held Trinidad.[307]

Lorimer has argued that Indians in Guiana were not as adversely affected by English tobacco planting as Indians in North America, and were willing to help cultivate crops in exchange for alliances.[308] However, contemporary Spanish sources suggest that the Indians who

[305] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* 36-40; "Edmund Howe's Account of Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage 1610-1611 (1631)" reprinted in Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 152.

[306] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, 79.

[307] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 29.

grew tobacco under these settlers were enslaved. The Governor of Trinidad, nervous about the growing presence of the Dutch and their accumulation of native allies**,** reported in 1614 that the "flamencos" were settled near the Wiapoco river, and that they engaged in cultivating tobacco "with the help of Indian slaves sold to them by friendly Caribs."[309] A Spanish Jesuit also reported that "The Dutch purchased prisoners of war from the Caribs—even paying in advance—the latter now regularly went upstream to buy captives from other tribes. Each captive was worth two choppers, two axes, some beads, or other trifles."[310] In the same year, 1614, the Spanish Council of the Indies received reports that the English, in conjunction with the Caribs, had been "stealing" Indians on the Orinoco to be employed on Spanish Jamaican plantations.[311] Historian Cornelis Goslinga concluded from these Spanish documents that the Dutch indeed participated in Indian enslavement since the early-seventeenth century, but repeated the Spanish perspective (also repeated by Raleigh) that these trades were initiated by "ferocious" Caribs who "enslaved other Indians tribes with the aim of selling them to the Dutch."[312] On the one hand, the sources that present Indian laborers on English and Dutch plantations as slaves are overwhelmingly from enemy Spanish sources, and should perhaps be considered exaggerations, or projections, of Spanish agricultural abuses of native labor. On the other hand, the English and Dutch narratives from this period suggest that Indian laborers were indeed captured and forced to work when it was deemed necessarily for particular trading and settlement projects. For that reason, the Spanish sources are probably correct to indicate that Indians labored on fledgling tobacco

[308] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 59.
[309] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean,* 76.

[310] Quoted in Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, 428.

[311] Whitehead, "Indigenous Slavery."

[312] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean,* 409, 428.

plantations, in various degrees of freedom and unfreedom, even if their status was not necessarily a permanent, inheritable condition.

While the Wiapoco quickly developed into a site for tobacco production and export, merchants from Zeeland were also recognizing the importance of the Essequibo River. According to Raleigh, the Essequibo River was a important site for trade, including a captive trade, for multiple indigenous groups. Keymis originally identified that the "Yaos, Shebaios, Arwaccas, Charibes, Maripaiwocowaios and Parawianni" all lived near the river, although by the time that Harcourt explored the region, he noted that it was simply Caribs and Arawaks that resided there, demonstrating a consolidation, and perhaps desolation, of a number of indigenous groups (See Appendices). In 1616, merchants from Zeeland directed a Dutchman, Captain Aert Adriaenson Groenewegen, to establish a colony on the Essequibo River. He had worked for the Spanish from 1609 to 1615, and continued trading with the Spanish, albeit "with great secrecy" in addition to the various native groups that occupied the region. Groenewegen's actions set in motion one of the most successful colonies in Guiana for the Dutch, for he was reputed to have "tooke firme footeing on guiana by the good likeing of the natives, whose humours the gentlemen perfectly understood."[313] Instead of Raleigh, it would be Groenewegen who carried the mantle of friendly colonial-indigenous relations in Guiana throughout the seventeenth century. Ironically, he might have also been chiefly responsible for the Dutch involvement in exporting Indian slaves from Guiana to Barbados.

The Death of Raleigh, the Legacy of Anglo-Dutch Cooperation in Guiana

[313] Major John Scott, "The Description of Guiana" 1665, BL, Sloane 3662.

During the establishments of Groenewegen, Harcourt, and Roe, an imprisoned Raleigh grappled with the legacy of promoting the exploration and settlement of Guiana. Raleigh's international reputation suffered under his imprisonment and he wrote his *History of the World* (1614) to regain it. Convinced that Guiana might still hold promise of gold mines and golden empires, Raleigh begged permission to leave the Tower of London to sail again to Guiana to find fortune again in 1617. Vaughn notes that this is the only voyage of Raleigh's that did not have an Indian interpreter accompanying him. The voyage faced a number of disasters. While sailing across the Atlantic, the crew, including Raleigh, suffered an illness that severely weakened him and his men. He stopped at the Wiapoco while encouraging Keymis to go ahead to the Orinoco to battle the Spaniards. The English won the skirmish, and took on three Indian captives from the Spanish in the process. Despite the victory and acquisition of new Indian captive, Raleigh paid a high price for the victory. His son, Wat, died in the battle. In Raleigh's grief, and exhaustion from his illness, he berated his faithful Lieutenant, Keymis, who subsequently killed himself. [314]

Of the three Indian captives, one was a woman who ran away, clearly considering her status as a prisoner of war under the English as threatening as her position had been under the Spanish. Another was a captive named Pedro Criollo, who seemed happy to join the English. The third, at least according to Spanish accounts, was held against his will by the English. This was an indigenous Andean named Guayacunda (called Christopher by the English). Regardless of his wishes, Guayacunda traveled back to England with Raleigh. Raleigh arrived in London burdened by the series of devastating losses, but still hopeful that he could find the elusive gold mines, if only James I would give him one more chance to travel to Guiana. James, impatient to re-establish ties with Spain, sentenced Raleigh to death for the previous treason charges that had

---

[314] Vaughn, "Raleigh's Indian Interpreters," 368-369.

kept him in the Tower before.[315] Guayacunda continued to serve Raleigh in the Tower of London. Raleigh tried to find him a position in service at another nobleman's house, suggesting Guayacunda's status was more slave than servant, in that he was not promised passage back to America like John Provost, Martyn, or Anthony Canabre before him. In 1618, Guayacunda witnessed Raleigh's execution.[316]

Under James I, English interests in Guiana dulled, losing the chivalric and golden shine projected by Raleigh. James correctly perceived the Guiana ventures as attempts to weaken Catholic Spain, and did not condone Spanish provocation. He did, however, grant Harcourt a patent to settle Guiana after publishing the account of his voyage in 1613. Harcourt was not empowered to protect his patent with military means, however, and Guiana remained, as it always had been, a space where multiple nations explored, settled, and exported indigenous products. Harcourt had no option but to let the Zeelanders and Thomas Roe's affiliates continue exporting tobacco in the years immediately following his voyage.[317]

Abutting Portuguese territory in Brazil, a group of Irish-English-Dutch adventurers settled on a Pará River, just south of Amazon, in 1616. They courted the Indians who feared *entradas* from the Portuguese in Brazil. One Portuguese leader, bento Maciel Parents, massacred thirty thousand Indians in Pará, from 1619-1620. The Indians, including Tupi, Arawak, and Carib people, helped the leader of the Irish-Anglo-Dutch venture, Adriaenzoon Ita, along with his two hundred or three hundred colonists, to expand tobacco and annatto production in the region. In the case of Indians joining this particular Anglo-Dutch venture so soon after a

---

[315] Schmidt, "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest," in *The Discovery of Guiana*, 37.

[316] Vaughn, "Raleigh's Indian Interpreters," 369-371.

[317] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* 50, 61.

massacre, Lorimer argues that they were not captives, but rather happy to labor (planting tobacco, cutting lumber, or processing dyes) in exchange for strength in numbers against the Portuguese.[318]

In 1620, the privy council of James I limited Harcourt's rights to a settlement yet again, this time containing him to the Wiapoco River alone. James I gave Roger North the tract of land between the Wiapoco and Amazon rivers. Despite the violence close to the Amazon, taking this land away from him embittered Harcourt, and spurred him to reprint his *Voyage,* presumably to remind James I of all that he had previously done to establish indigenous ties and scout the region.[319] Ultimately, neither Harcourt nor North's venture was successful. One hundred men joined Roger North to settle the area, including Thomas Warner in 1620. Almost as soon as they arrived, "300 Portugals and Spaniards, accompanied with about 1500 of their Indians in their Periagos came into the river in the pursuite of this designe" and either slaughtered or scattered many of the men. Neither were the Dutch in the region spared: "the mischiefe intended unto our Country men was bitterly, at the same time, effected upon divers Dutchmen, to the losse of their lives, because they were more loosely seated, and more openly exposed unto the enemie upon the borders, or Ilands of the maine river." The cooperation that existed between the Dutch and English helped protect them to some extent. The English who fled the violence were able to go "aboard the next Dutch ships that came into the river."[320] Surviving was not the same as thriving,

---

[318] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* 59.

[319] Harcourt wrote "And forasmuch as it hath graciously pleased your Matie, at the humble suite of the said Roger North, to give Life and Motion to this suspended Action, by united the two severall Grants before mentioned, b a newe rant to a Corporation, I have therefore (under your Maties favour) presumed the second time, to present unto your gracious view, this following relation of my former Travelle, & discoveries in teh said Countryes: whereby your Matie may partly gather, what hopeful successe (through Gods Blessing) may be expected from the prosecution of so worthy an Enterprise, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626).

[320] Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* (1626), 8.

however, and some men considered their chance for success greater elsewhere in the Caribbean. Thomas Warner left Guiana soon after this conflict to settle on the island of St. Kitt's instead; he carried the legacy of indigenous-colonial violence and Indian enslavement with him there (Chapter 4).

Conclusion

Benjamin Schmidt has argued that "Raleigh, in brief, offers a rhetorical performance without achieving any actions of lasting value-- an ironic outcome for this Renaissance man of action."[321] However, Harcourt and his Indian informants solidified an alliance that become the foundation for all future English colonies. Although Englishmen may have exaggerated Raleigh's moves towards English territorial claims in Guiana, his legacy of establishing Indian trade and trust is warranted. His precedent for using Indian translators and guides, in various states of freedom, was, as Vaughn concludes, an accomplishment of English reconnaissance and perhaps early conversion efforts.[322] In addition to circulating Guiana Indians around the Atlantic, in various positions of service, Raleigh's "performance" served as lasting inspiration for later colonists, especially during Cromwell's "Western Design" of the mid-seventeenth century. Cromwell wanted to return to an era where gallant Protestants confronted the Spanish enemy to claim more territory for England. Cromwell's rhetoric purposely echoed both Las Casas and Raleigh.[323] During the second Anglo-Dutch War, Major John Scott would credit Raleigh with

---

[321] Schmidt, "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest," in *Discovery of Guiana*, 34.

[322] Vaughn, "Raleigh's Indian Interpreters," 373.

[323] Kupperman, "Errand to the Indies." 122-123, 138-146.

leaving a "great a name behind him, wth the Native Indians in those pts, that the English have often been obliged to Remember wth Honor."[324]

Less honorable, however, were the precedents that Raleigh and his contemporaries established for using indigenous labor as the circumstances benefited them. Raleigh's first Indian interpreters may have shared their linguistic skills, geographical knowledge, and political savvy freely. However, Raleigh, Keymis, and Harcourt consistently prioritized their goals of reconnaissance over the liberty of individual Indians. Raleigh and Keymis had been apologetic for these events, but later Europeans who entered Caribana were eager to commandeer Indians as well, and take advantage their ability to trade for indigenous captives. The sparse settlement of European traders meant that their participation in these markets was not perceived as a threat to indigenous cultures. Battles between colonists and Indians until the 1620s rarely lead to colonial victories; rather, the relative military power of Indian groups hamstrung colonial development in Guiana. By 1633, fifty-six English refugees of conflicts in the Wiapoco and Amazon region were living on the Suriname River, and a number of Dutch settlers were holding on tenaciously to Fort Kijkoveral on the Essequibo River.[325] Despite patches of outposts and somewhat regular exports from merchants visiting the coast, indigenous peoples held on to their autonomy in the 1620s and 1630s. Europeans shifted their focus from Guiana to the Lesser Antilles in acquiring land for large-scale agriculture. These land-grabs on the Caribbean islands were more brazen, and their enslavement of Indians more explicit, than the tentative exploratory journeys of men such as Raleigh and Harcourt. They simultaneously damaged diplomatic relationships between European and Island Caribs, while maintaining the same rhetoric that these behaviors were not consistent

---

[324] Major John Scott, "The Description of Guiana" 1665, British Library, Sloane 3662.

[325] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement,* 112.

with the character of English, French, and Dutch colonization. As Europeans shifted their focus on colonization from Guiana to the Lesser Antilles, they were not following directions as mapped out by Raleigh, Keymis, Harcourt, or Cabeliau. They were instead following the old migration and colonization patterns of the Caribs and Island Caribs, whose civilization originated in the Guiana and spread northward.

Part II: From Captives to Slaves

Chapter 4: Islands: St. Kitts, Curaçao and Barbados

Introduction

The next generation of Caribbean Indian captives experienced the full brunt of the turn from early explorations to aggressive expansion in the era of tobacco and sugar cultivation. Previously, from the 1580s to 1610s, English and Dutch adventures to Guiana had focused on indigenous people as conduits to trade, security, and further exploration, investing in these relationships, as well as taking advantage of them. Prolonged captivity was associated with previous Iberian transgressions in the region, and the English and Dutch thus considered capturing Indians a method of last resort to accomplish their goals. Throughout the period from the 1620s to the 1680s, the chivalrous ideals (if not practices) towards indigenous peoples were reduced to boilerplate statements about spreading religion or English government. Interactions were more often violent from the onset. Periods of captivity often lengthened from months or decades to entire lifetimes. Scholarship has focused on how this trajectory from captivity to slavery affected slaves of African descent, culminating in Barbados's Slave Act of 1661 and the institutionalization of racial, chattel slavery.[326] This chapter provides a narrative of how the presence of Indian slaves on three islands in the Caribbean-- St. Kitts, Curaçao, and Barbados-- complicated the ability of colonists to control and enslave Indian populations. I argue that the colonial government of Barbados was the most successful at controlling Indians and Indian labor because this island most successfully isolated Indians from Caribana.

[326] Edward B. Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race in the Comprehensive Slave Codes of the Greater Caribbean during the Seventeenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no 3 (2013): 429-458; Newman, *A New World of Labor*.

In the sixteenth century, the Spanish had labeled St. Kitts, Curaçao, and Barbados as islands with "Carib" populations, regardless of actual ethnic identity of the inhabitants, to permit slaves raids on these islands. Of the three, St. Kitts alone was home to an ethnically Carib Kalinago population. Curaçao (and Aruba and Bonaire) were home to indigenous people closely related to the Arawaks of present-day Venezuela. Barbados may have only hosted transitory populations of Kalinago, but there was no indigenous population at the time of English settlement. As the examples in this chapter will show, the different human geography of each island created different regimes of labor regulation on each. It was easiest to control labor on Barbados, where there was no native population, and control was further facilitated by the physical geography of the island. All three islands themselves were bounded by water, which was not a physical barrier for free Caribbean Indians, but certainly was for slaves, especially with an island with so few natural harbors as Barbados.[327] Slaves were also stripped of their access to boatbuilding materials or their native communities to help them escape.

The relatively small size of each of these islands also contributed to the isolation of slaves, both African and Indian. They did not have the vast expanse filled with labyrinthine river systems of Guiana, nor even the large mountainous interiors of the Greater Antilles. In Guiana and the Greater Antilles, maroon communities, like Enriquillo's on Española, could survive away

---

[327] As we have mentioned, the Kalinago were a highly mobile seafaring people who used the "Saltwater Frontier" of the sea as an advantage defending themselves against European invaders. Caribbean Indians have never suffered from the stereotype of being land-bound or land-oriented, as Andrew Lipman shows the indigneous people of Long Island sound had been. It is nevertheless relevant to point out how the comparative advantage of a sea boundary initially fell to the indigneous population, as their pirogue and canoe boating technology was lighter and more navigatable for the environment they were more familar with. Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast (*New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015). N.A.T. Hall has discussed how the sea could facilitate as well as prevent slave maroonage. He saw the Danish West Indies as an example of a geography that let slaves escape through these islands' many points of departure, and their proximity to neighboring Spanish islands that slaves perceived to be more lenient in slave laws; see N.A.T. Hall, "Maritime Maroons: 'Grand Marronage' from the Danish West Indies," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (Oct, 1985) 476-498.

from colonial settlements.[328] The islands where the Kalinago repelled colonists, St. Vincent and Dominica, were most similar to the Greater Antilles in that they were volcanic islands, with dense jungles and steep landscapes that did not lend themselves particularly well to plantation agriculture, but did help hide refugee Kalinago who had escaped from other islands of the Lesser Antilles.

Barbados, an exceptional Caribbean island because it did not have a permanent settlement of indigenous people, was also the only non-volcanic island in the Lesser Antilles. Father Anthony Biet, visiting Barbados in 1654, wrote that it "had no high mountains, but only hills which are fertile and arable up to their summits."[329] This was a definitive advantage for colonists, hopeful farmers, and plantation managers alike. The sedimentary foundation also allowed water to carve out Harrison's cave system in the heart of the island. Without volcanic mountains, this interior cave system provided some of the few natural hideaways for runaway slaves.[330] Another feature that made Barbados a comparatively difficult island to escape was that it had few navigable waterways or locations to put a raft to sea. The Caribbean coast features one of the few natural inlets, the Careenage, which runs through Bridgetown. The Atlantic coast is turbulent and rocky. The geographical and cultural isolation of Barbados from the islands of Caribana, combined with its increasing relevance as a point of connection between English and Dutch trade, made this island a place where Indian slavery and Indian slave trading could occur

---

[328] This did not mean that colonists, nor Indian allies of colonists, didn't try to hunt down runaways from maroon communities. See Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*; Molly Warsh, "Enslaved Pearl Divers" 35; Marjoleine Kars, "Cleansing the Land: Dutch-Amerindian Cooperation in the Suppression of the 1763 Slave Rebellion in Dutch Guiana," in *Empires and Indigenes: Intercultural Alliance, Imperial Expansion, and Warfare in the Early Modern World*, ed. Wayne E. Lee (New York, 2011), 305.

[329] Biet, quoted in Handler (ed, trans), "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados," 64.

[330] Jerome S. Handler, "Escaping Slavery in a Caribbean Plantation Society: Marronage in Barbados, 1650-1830s," *New West Indian Guide* 71, no 3/4 (1997): 184. The author also benefited from the geological information and evidence of slave residence presented at the vistor's cemter exhibitions at Harrison's Cave, St. Thomas Parish, Barbados.

almost surreptitiously, without causing the violent retribution from the Indian communities it most devastated.

Case studies of Indian enslavement on St. Kitts, Dutch Curaçao, and Barbados show that the human geography of Caribana mattered more to the European nations while developing strategies of labor control than their respective European legal cultures. This chapter presents the colonization of St. Kitts as an extreme and rapid example of the transition from peaceful trade to violent conquest, massacres, and enslavement that happened when colonists gained footholds on islands with significant Kalinago populations, within Caribana. These colonial-indigenous experiences were violent, and Indian enslavement the result of warfare rather than systemic trade. Dutch Curaçao provides an example of an island outside of Caribana, where the Spanish had previously organized the indigenous population (not ethnically Kalinago) under an encomienda, and imported Indian slaves from elsewhere in the Caribbean. The Dutch categorized some Indian laborers along with company servants and slaves, but there was also a free Indian population that colonists were not sure how to manage, although missionaries stepped in to convert the population. Barbados represents a third, unique type among islands in the Caribbean. Historically, it had tenuous and sporadic connections to Caribana, perhaps hosting a Kalinago population briefly. Generally, it was an island on the periphery of Kalinago trade, interest and influence. After the English settlement (without contest from a native population) colonists imported Indian laborers in a manner that anticipated the import of European indentured servants and slaves from Africa.

A Dangerous Precedent: Massacre and Enslavement on St. Kitts

St. Kitts was an island deeply connected through pre-Columbian trade patterns, culture, and proximity to other islands in Caribana, being home to the ethnic Kalinago, and further

labeled as Carib during the Spanish conquest. The French and English conquest of the island demonstrates the worst of all possible outcomes for indigenous populations who encountered colonists in the first concerted attempt to settle the Lesser Antilles. The pattern established in St. Kitts would become familiar on many other islands within Caribana, including St. Lucia, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, where colonists lived on the periphery of native populations. Sharing these islands did not mean that they were shared peacefully, however. Tensions with the colonists, who often huddled near the flatter and more agriculturally-friendly coasts, often exploded in violent battles, or cycles of slave raiding between colonial and indigenous populations.[331]

The English initially found the native population of St. Kitts amendable to trade. English colonists came in 1623, followed by French colonists in 1625. After an initial period of peaceful settlement in agreement with the Indian "King Tegreman," the conquest of St. Kitts in 1627 was justified on the grounds that the island was "under the Governm^{t} of any Christian Prince or State but eyther wholy vacant or uninhabited only by savage people wanting as well orders and lawes of humane civilitie as understanding and religious adoration of their creator." [332] According to the English story, the "civilitie" between the English and the natives quickly broke down, however. On the information of an Indian woman who was close to the colonists, the English and French grew suspicious that the Kalinago inhabitants "did intend to kill them all." In 1626, their suspicions mobilized the colonists to "kill and slay a great many of them" including King

[331] The Kalinago began using African slaves themselves for their own agricultural activities, stealing them from nearby colonial settlements: Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 49; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 69.

[332] "Articles agreed upon by Capt Warner, Mr De Namburg and Mr Du Roissy, to be maintained according to ye Commands they have from their kings of france and England by virtue of their Comissions" 13 May 1627, British Library, Egerton Manuscripts, Eg 2395 fols 9-10; "Copy Extracted from the Originiall of St Thomas Warner's Commission for Govr of St. Christopher's," 29 September 1629, BL, Eg 2395 fol. 15.

Tegreman while sleeping in his hammock.[333] The English said that their subsequent massacre and enslavement of the Caribs was a defensive, and defensible, action.[334] The French account of Du Tertre, also describes the plans of the Kalinago as a cruel conspiracy, hatched by the "Boyez," or religious leader, of the Kalinago. But Du Tertre also shamed Thomas Warner and his men for saving "the most beautiful women to abuse them and use them as slaves" after killing between one hundred and one hundred and twenty of the indigenous people.[335] When the Earl of Carlisle later deputized Thomas Warner as the Lieutenant Governor of St. Kitts, the Earl said that Warner took the island "with the General consent, affection, and ratification of ye natives."[336] The discrepancy between the English and French accounts, one without reference to enslavement and one with, shows how important it was to publically refute that the *intention* of enslavement, and the previous assurance of indigenous "consent," even when massacres irrefutably occurred.

The Massacre of St. Kitts began a familiar pattern on islands shared between colonists and the Kalinago, although over a longer time period than the brief three years between episodes of peaceful trade, and then ambushes, battles, and enslavement. From the 1630s-1650s, similar military raids against Kalinago populations started occurring in the other islands of Caribana. Between 1636 and 1641, French colonists succeeded in either killing or pushing away the Island Caribs from Martinique, towards Dominica and St. Vincent. Dominica and St. Vincents would also host the exiles of conflicts between the English and Kalinago on St. Lucia in 1639, and the

---

[333] John Hilton, "Relation of the first Settlement of St. Xtphers & Nevis by John Hilton Shorekeeper and chief Gunner of Nevis" 29 April 1675, BL, Eg 2395 folio 503; "Copy Extracted from the Originiall of St Thomas Warner's Commission for Govr of St. Christopher's," fol. 15.

[334] Hilton, "Relation of the first Settlement of St. Xtphers," fol. 503.

[335] Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale*, Vol 1: 5-6.

[336] "Copy Extracted from the Originiall of St Thomas Warner's Commission for Govr of St. Christopher's," folio 15.

French-Carib War in Guadeloupe in 1654. Boucher considers 1660 to be the year when the "islands settled down to peace," with Caribs keeping Dominica and St. Vincents, while English and French island colonists generally turned towards commercial and military alliances with these Indians.[337] In the following chapters, we shall see how the aggressive expansionist policies of Barbadian governors (and brothers) Francis and William Willougby during the Anglo-Dutch Wars in the Caribbean tested these alliances, and created piecemeal incentives or deterrents to raiding for slaves in Caribana.

Adapting Spanish Labor Systems to Dutch Designs: Curaçao

Curaçao only existed in Caribana in the minds of the Spaniards who had wished to raid the island for slaves in the sixteenth century. Although considered one of the *islas inutiles*, it had hosted a small Spanish colonial population prior to English, French, or Dutch efforts to settle in the region. The indigenous people of Curaçao had been organized under an *encomienda* granted in 1525 to Juan de Ampués. Ampués probably imported additional Indians from Guiana directly to the south of the island.[338] With the end of the 1609-1621 truce, the newly formed Dutch West India Company began attacking Spanish shipping. One of these attacks, Admiral Piet Heyn's capture of the Spanish treasure fleet in 1628, funded the military campaigns that captured Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, and to the north of Caribana, St Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba. Both island groups were promising for their salt-pans, as well as their favorable position for further attack on Spanish colonies.

---

[337] Du Tertre, *Histoire Génénale*, Vol 1: 463-465. For a detailed contextualization of these conflicts, see Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 43-59.

[338] Cornelis Goslinga, *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam* (The Hague, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979) 15-17.

When the Dutch took over Curaçao in 1634, the Spanish governor, Lope López de Morla, surrendered to WIC commander van Walbeeck on the condition that his soldiers, and their Indian servants, could leave peacefully to the nearby Audencía de Nueva Granada (Venezuela). Van Walbeeck allowed the departure, which included over 400 Indians. Historian Cornelis Goslinga attributes this magnanimous act to van Walbeeck's distrust of the native population, whom the Spanish had converted to Roman Catholicism.[339] Regardless, he demanded that 75 Indians, or 20 "families of laborers" would be left behind on the Island, and some Spaniards remained as well.[340] After conquering Curaçao, van Walbeeck pressed the WIC soldiers to construct a fort. The frustrated company servants were on the verge of mutiny, but instead of turning against their commander, or constructing the fort, they channeled their aggressions by fighting the remaining Spaniards and their attached Indians.[341] It seems likely, under these circumstances, that the remaining "families of laborers" and any Indians captured in the lingering conquest would be the workforce that eventually constructed Fort Amsterdam, Curaçao's main point of trade in the early seventeenth century.

According to Goslinga, van Walbeeck had let the Indians go because he feared, as Catholic converts, their loyalty was with their co-religionists, the Spanish. However, the remaining free Indians were Catholic as well. One strategy for creating alliances, and therefore managing, the remaining free Indian population was to re-baptize them as members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Despite the WIC's reputation as a profit-driven, rather than evangelically-oriented, arm of Dutch expansion, conversion was a high priority for certain territories within the

---

[339] Goslinga, *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam*, 15-17.

[340] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean,* 269.

[341] Goslinga, *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam*, 108.

Dutch West India Company.[342] Considering that the WIC experienced a perpetual labor shortage, it seems likely that van Walbeeck would have wanted to retain *more* laborers than the twenty families left, but he probably considered that the highest priority was Spanish departure, even at a high price, given the proximity between the island and the Spanish Main.[343] Backerus begged the Classis of Amsterdam for guidance in his missionary activities, given that, although they had been baptized Roman Catholic, they had "little to no knowledge of Christ," and led "a heathen life . . . sleeping with each other, so that I cannot know whom the fathers of the children are." He awaited a response from the Classis regarding baptizing the adults, but decided to go ahead and baptize their children (fifteen in total) out of concern that Catholic missionaries from the Spanish Main would come try to do it themselves.[344] Since the Indians had quickly returned to their "heathen" ways after the Spanish left, it seems likely that their conversion had fulfilled the obligations of the *encomienda* or *repatimiento* system, rather than the indigenous population's earnest desire to become Catholic.

The Dutch had neither *encomienda* nor *repartimiento* systems, but they instituted their own means of controlling the remaining Indian laborers on Curaçao. Shortly after the conquest,

---

[342] Recently, Deborah Hamer has demonstrated these efforts for the Dutch reformed church in Brazil. In 1644, the Classis of Brazil devoted with five full time missionaries and six part time missionaries ministering to the Dutch-allied Tupi tribe. This commitment reflected the importance of Tupi alliances in Dutch Brazil, as the WIC also granted the Tupis self-governance and a local court system, modeled after the Dutch courts but staffed with Tupis, in 1645. Hamer, "Creating an Orderly Society: The Regulation of Marriage and Sex in the Dutch Atlantic World, 1621-1674," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 193, 203.

[343] Labor shortages led veteran soldiers to complain about being kept on their contracts too long: Document 3c in *Curacao Papers*, 18-19.

[344] "Joannus Backerus to the Classis van Amstedam," May 1, 1644. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 379.2.2.2.3.224 (pages 4-5): "De gemelte indeanen zijn seer daer toe geneghen dat haer kinderen mogen dedoopt werden, tot noch toe heb ick het niet hart gewergert, om dat se enichsens aen ten houden, waerdesen van de papen ooch gedoopt zijn daer beneven dringen sy so haet daer op aen, ia seggen dat wij geen chrismen sijn wil men hare kinderen niet doopen. evenwel ick vande daer swaarheit in, omdat ick bemercke, dat de meese paerte, weinich ofte geen kenisse hebben van chrisus, item een hedens leven leiden, en uit gros bijslapen, so dat ick oock niet en can veten, wien de vaders sijn van de kinders, ick wense der haven, dat de broeders mij haer gevoelens wilde schryven wat me in dese suke sal doen."

under van Walbeeck, a position called a "majorate" was instituted. The "majorate" was a WIC official who "daily as the need and service of the company demands, shall ride into the countryside and keep watch on" the Indians. It seems that this position was unoccupied between van Walbeeck's governorship and 1643, when Peter Stuyvesant became director of the WIC at Curaçao. Stuyvesant reinstituted the office because "the numbers of Indians, together with those of Aruba and Bonairo, have increased here by half, and we have learned that they frequently ride even against orders and commands, and also when they are sent on business they take too much time before they return here [Fort Amsterdam], playing among themselves and riding the horses and ruining the animals and so forth."[345] This institution of an official to corral wandering Indians suggests that the Indians were not allowed freedom of mobility, and needed explicit permission for the simple pleasures of recreation and socializing. Other WIC resolutions reveal that the company sought to limit the negotiating abilities of Indian laborers. Stuyvesant declared that the director (himself) was the only person with the authority to give "expressed consent" to former WIC employees "to seek, much less use, the service of any company servants, Indians, or Blacks."[346] These resolutions outline the restrictive legal conditions placed upon the Indians who were native, or came from nearby islands, to live on Curaçao. The Indians who were either enslaved or "in service" of the WIC could easily challenge these restriction by their access to a nearby free population of indigenous, or previously transported, Indians on the island.

Some of the more unfortunate Indian laborers in Dutch Curaçao probably worked as salt miners. Salt-pans were plentiful in the Caribbean, but free salt miners were in short supply. Indeed, Dutch colonists had searched for salt throughout their Atlantic expansion during the

---

[345] "Resolution drawn up at Fort Amsterdam on the island of Curaçao," 31 March 1643, Document 4b in *Curacao Papers*, 22.

[346] "Freedoms and Exemptions of Company Servants," 10 March 1643, Document 3 in *Curaçao Papers*, 16.

Eighty Years War, as herring fishing was a traditionally lucrative industry for the Dutch. When the Dutch had found new salt-pans in Ceará in Brazil, they mined them with the help of Indian labor, some compensated through goods and some not.[347] On Caribbean islands, it seems likely that the Dutch would have compelled Indians to mine salt under similar conditions. WIC servants were too few and too unwilling, and until the 1640s, the WIC had no slave port in Africa and only acquired African slaves by commandeering Iberian vessels.[348] When the Dutch captured St. Eustatius in 1635, located just south of the plentiful and promising salt-pans of St. Martin, the island was soon a base for the WIC to raid nearby islands for Indians slaves. Like the Barbados colonists, the WIC servants stationed at St. Eustatius turned towards the oldest permanent colony in the Dutch Atlantic, Essequibo in Guiana, for Indian slaves. In 1645, Aert Adriaenzoon Groenewegen, Governor of Essequibo, protested losing eighty Indians who had been taken away to St. Eustatius.[349]

The demand for salt miners prompted Stuyvesant to write to the Directors of the WIC, the Heren XIX, in 1643 that the salt works of Bonaire were still in a state of disrepair from the battles with the Spaniards. They lacked the full force of labor necessary to bring them into working and productive order. Stuyvesant wanted more wood for construction, but thought it would be useless "unless salt haulers from Brasill [sic] or elsewhere arrive, who brought with them wheelbarrows." Salt haulers would be valued so highly that Stuyvesant promised "to defend them against an attack of the Indians who might come for some prisoners with a

---

[347] Goslinga, *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam,* 20.

[348] Johannes Postma, "The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade: Slaving on the Guinea Coast, 1675-1795" (PhD, History, Michigan State University, 1971) 31; Pieter Emmer and Ernst van den Boogart, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596-1650," Chapter 2 in *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy1580-1880: Trade, Slavery and Emancipation (*Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998) 34-55.

[349] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast,* 263.

canoe."[350] Although it is unclear whether these salt miners would be enslaved Indians, Stuyvesant's will to protect new salt haulers should be read as an acknowledgement that they *would* be considered slaves by other marauding Indian groups, especially Caribs who used both African and Indigenous slaves themselves.[351]

Stuyvesant understood that Indian raids for slaves were endemic to the region. While planning defensively, he also actively cultivated an alliance with the Indians of Aruba to move offensively against their mutual enemy, the Spanish, and their Indian allies. Stuyvesant praised the native Arubans for having "given us great service and of whom more is to be expected if anymore raids are carried out on the mainland where they are well versed according to experience." He offered them Curaçao as a new home base: "we find it advisable to ask them whether they still desire to come here with their cattle to live on the island as they requested previously."[352] This is, of course, an implication that the Aruba Indians were *free* laborers who considered the protection of the WIC a fair exchange for their military services as raiders. Once on Curaçao, however, the Indians of Aruba would experience the degrading stewardship of the WIC majorate.

WIC officials, van Walbeeck and Stuyvesant, faced the daunting task of preventing Spanish re-conquest while managing both free and unfree Indian laborers. Free Indians in Curaçao and Aruba, similarly, had to balance their will for autonomy with the new political necessity to cooperate with colonists or risk loosing their freedom all together. As in Guiana, the

---

[350] "Resolutions made at Fort Amsterdam on Curacao," 6 January 1643, Document 2b in *Curacao Papers,* 8-9.

[351] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters,* 49.

[352] "Resolutions made at Fort Amsterdam on Curacao," 6 January 1643, Document 2b in *Curacao Papers,* 8-9.

increased competition between the Dutch and Spanish in Curaçao actually helped preserve indigenous freedom because their military alliances were so valuable to colonial powers.

From Exploration to Exploitation: Guiana's Connections to Barbados

Neither Spanish nor Indigenous competition was an issue for the first colonists of Barbados. Just a year after the St. Kitt's massacre, Barbados settlers breathed a sigh of relief that such a tragedy was unlikely on their new home. Henry Winthrop wrote about the isolated nature of Barbados to his uncle, Emmanuel Downing, explaining his decision to live in Barbados instead of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where his father, John Winthrop, was the Governor. He wished to stay in Barbados with his indentured servants to plant tobacco. He asked his family not to worry about him, since Barbados was "the pleasantesste Ilande in all the weste Indyes" and "very stron[g] for any enymye interrupting us with out any inhabytanse of any other people of other natyones[,] save Inglishe men[,] save a matter of 50 slaves of Indyenes and blacks."[353] Historians have used Henry Winthrop's correspondence to demonstrate the early connections between Barbados and North America, and the origins of Barbados as a slave society.[354] This letter is striking for other reasons, however. It establishes that Indian slaves, of a notably yet undetermined number, were on Barbados since its colonial inception.[355] Winthrop's letter also

---

[353] Henry Winthrop to Emmanuel Downing, August 22, 1627, in Forbes et al (eds), *Winthrop Papers, Volume I: 1498-1628* (Boston, Massachusetts: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929) 356-357. Winthrop was the second son of John Winthrop, the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

[354] Wendy Anne Warren, "'The Cause of Her Grief': The Rape of a Slave in Early New England," *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (2007) 1038.

[355] Hilary McD Beckles uses this quote to discuss the acceleration of slave imports after initial colonization; he writes that "The first blacks in the colony were a small party captured from a Portuguese vessel off the Guiana coast by Powell's colonizing mission in January 1627" and these are contained in the '50 slaves of Indynenes and Blacks' number cited by Winthrop, comparing it to the total population of about 1800: *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1989) 31 footnote 57; Dunn uses Winthrop's quote to narrate how Barbadians initially used both Indian and African slaves, but then shifted decisively towards African slave labor: Dunn, *Sugar & Slaves,* 227

describes Barbados as a *terra nullius,* without any other "natyones" such as Spaniards or Caribs on it. Winthrop's letter implied that Barbados was unique precisely because all the Indians in Barbados were *already* enslaved, rather than internal threats. Barbados's colonists did not need to negotiate with neighboring Indians for territory. Barbados's fortuitous combination of isolation (from either colonial or indigenous rivals on the island) and connectivity (to Dutch and indigenous trade networks in Guiana) helped its early success as a plantation colony and sugar producer.

The first Indian slaves on Barbados worked in agriculture. English colonists, inspired by promotional literature about Guiana, hoped Barbados could produce the same cash crops touted there: tobacco, cotton, and indigo. Prior to setting out for the New World, the English merchant William Courteen founded a trade syndicate with merchants from Zeeland, one of the dominant maritime provinces of the Dutch Republic. Originally, Courteen wanted to model the Zeelanders' Essequibo River colony and trade in Guiana. In 1627, William, his brother Peter Courteen, and their Zeeland associates commissioned a Man-of-War, in preparation to fight any Iberians they might have encountered en route. Instead of the Guiana coast, they landed on Barbados, the easternmost of the Caribbean islands, lying conveniently close to Essequibo. They reported that the island was "not inhabited by any nation," had good soil, and would be a very good plantation.[356]

Archeological investigation confirms that Courteen's syndicate indeed found an uninhabited island, but Barbados would be more accurately described as a *deserted* island. Hundreds of years earlier, people from the Guianas had sailed northwards to colonize Barbados

---

[356] "A true State of the Case between the Heires and Assignes of Sir Willian Courten Knight, Deceased, and the late Earl of Carlisle, and Planters in the Island of Barbadoes, annexed to the Petition of William Courten Esquire, and others, exhibited in parliament," BL, Egerton Ms. 2395, fol. 602.

as well as islands in the Lesser Antilles chain. They harvested fruits from the island and hunted sea turtles, tuna, and lobster from the surrounding sea. Freshwater sources in Barbados were scarce and the population never boomed to make the island a major center of indigenous trade, yet the pre-colonial Barbados Indians had engineered a system of earthenware cisterns that collected enough rainwater to sustain a small settlement.[357] These original inhabitants shared the trade language of Kalinago that linked the islands of Caribana. It facilitated the indigenous Barbadians swapping their pottery, island produce, and marriage partners for obsidian axes and other tools from islands to the north. When the Spanish entered the Caribbean, however, the Indian population of Barbados was gone. They may have emigrated to other islands, or back to the Guianas, when they learned, through their trade networks, of Spanish conflicts with the Caribs elsewhere in the Caribbean.[358]

Courteen was both blessed and cursed to find Barbados deserted. He had no need to negotiate with an existing Indian polity, but he also had insufficient labor and no one to instruct his colonists on the best forms of agriculture for the soil. Courteen, determined to start planting, commissioned Captain John Powell and his brother, Henry, to bring supplies and more settlers from England to Barbados. En route back to Barbados, Powell captured a Portuguese ship with about ten African slaves onboard and brought them to the island, no doubt some of the slaves Winthrop referenced in his letter.[359] Two weeks after his return, Courteen suggested that Powell make contact with the Dutch Governor Groenewegen at Essequibo to see if they could acquire additional resources for their island.[360] An account written fifty years later says that

---

[357] Ligon, *True and Exact History*, 34-35, 44.

[358] Drewet, *Amerindian Stories,* preface vi, 4-11.

[359] Handler, "Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados," 40.

Groenewegen traded with the English upon their arrival to the region, giving Barbados "its first assistance both for Foode and Trade to this mans speciall kindess."[361] Barbados's first colonists thus benefited from an international (although not English) supply chain that began in indigenous trade networks, worked through Spanish back channels, and was finally facilitated by Dutch middlemen.

Powell recalled that when he had reached the Main, he traded directly with a group of Indians, who told him that Barbados was the land of their "forefathers." This may be a reference to indigenous trade routes and connections between Guiana and Barbados as evidenced in the archeological and anthropological evidence. Powell insisted that the Indians "had a desire to go with me as free people to manure those fruits and that I should allow them a piece of land," raise their children as Christians, and "drive a constant trade between that island and the Main."[362] According to Courteen's heirs, Captain Powell "fetched" about thirty Indians from Essequibo to "instruct the English in planting Cottons, Tobacco, Indigo."[363] The Courteen syndicate thus framed themselves as both the English and Dutch protestant visions of ideal settlers, simultaneously evangelizing and exploiting the Indians. Together, the Christian indentured servants, ten African slaves, and Indians worked on "the Corn Plantation, the Fort Plantation, the Indian-Bridge Plantation, the Indian Plantation Eastward, and Powell's Plantation." Courteen said that he later split these plantations to encourage populating the island with "English, Indians, and others, to the Number of 1850 Men, Women and Children."[364] The Indians imported to

[360] Scott, "The Description of Guiana," c. 1668, BL, Sloane Ms. 3662.

[361] Scott,"The Description of Guiana."

[362] Quoted in Handler, "Amerindian Slave Population," 41.

[363] "A true State of the Case between the Heires and Assignes of Sir William Courten, Knight, Deceased, and the late Earl of Carlisle, and Planters in the Island of Barbados," undated, BL, Egerton Ms. 2395, folio 602.

Barbados, whether they came voluntarily or not, shared something important with the ten African slaves that came with John Powell: they all faced social isolation from their original political communities.

In 1628, a year after planting began, a different interest group of English merchants in London pressured Charles I to give James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle, a grant of proprietorship over all the English Caribbean islands.[365] Carlisle used the permissions of Charles I's patent to send his own men to Barbados and collect rent from Courteen's settlers, now disparaged as squatters. This began a suit where the Courteen syndicate and Courteen's heirs, charged the Earl of Carlisle's government with unlawfully taxing the first English settlers. Powell's and Courteen's heirs charged that Carlilse took the Indians "by force and made them slaves," and kept them "long in Bondage." Powell implied that this undermined Carlisle's claims to be governor since he reneged on the original goals of English settlement in the Americas: to turn Indians away from Spanish alliances, convert them to Protestantism, and to gain their trust and friendship through cooperative trade.[366]

But Carlisle was not the only one responsible for turning Guiana natives into Barbados slaves. Three years after Robert Harcourt issued the second edition of his *Relation of a Voyage*, he sent indigenous captives from the Wiapoco River to Barbados. Harcourt's men, along with Dutch settlers and Indian laborers, had exported crops and dyewoods from that region since 1609. Harcourt may have exploited the native laborers who worked on the fledgling tobacco plantations or cut dyewood for export, provoking a violent response to the Anglo-Dutch settlement. In 1629, "Caribs" began harassing the colonists and killed at least thirty Dutchmen.

---

[364] "A true State of the Case," BL, Egerton Ms. 2395, folio 602.

[365] Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery*, 15-16.

[366] "A true State of the Case," BL, Egerton Ms. 2395, folio 602.

This attack prompted Harcourt to "enter into fight with the said Indians." Harcourt took five of the Indians prisoner. He gave the Indian captives to a ship Captain named Ellinger for his "service" in the skirmish. Ellinger sold the five Indian slaves on Barbados, en route to St. Christophers. Another free Indian had accompanied Ellinger to St Christopher's, hoping to procure passage for England. However, one of the carpenters "affirmed that the Indian did belonge unto him" and even threatened to stab Ellinger.[367] Even at this early date, Harcourt and Ellinger knew there was a market for Indian slaves on Barbados, and probably St. Kitts as well. The sale and purchase of these four Indians does not, and would not necessarily, appear in the collection of Barbados Deeds, however, suggesting that many more events like this (and many more Indian slaves) were probably present on the Island. Unfortunately, either no one recorded their existence, sale, or purchase, or no such record ever existed, given the dubious circumstances surrounding most incidences of Indian enslavement.

Legal Status of Indian laborers before Barbados's Black Codes

A small sample, of a most likely much larger number, of Indian slaves appears in the collection of documents known as the Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds (henceforth, BARD). Like Harcourt's captives, the Indian laborers sent by Groenewegen (whether against their will, or free people eager for conversion and trade) almost certainly became life-long servants or slaves within the first decade of residing in Barbados. Contextual information from the BARD records suggests the kind of labor Indian slaves performed by providing the type of equipment (such as worms for distillation or kettles for sugar production) located on the same property. These deeds

---

[367] "Extracts from a further deposition by John Ellinger, 10th/20th May 1631," 324-336 in Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon*." For the sale of these Indian captives on Barbados, see 336 footnote 2. For the enslavement of the free Indian on St. Kitts (called St. Christopher in Ellinger's deposition) see 336.

sometimes specify the legal categories these Indians belonged to, whether a lifelong servant or included on a list of "negro slaves" but with "Indian" preceding their name to distinguish them.

Table 1: Indians in Property Transactions in Barbados

Year	Property Transaction	"Appurt-enances" (implied economic activity)	Owners	Indian slaves/ total slaves	Sex of Indian slaves	Source (BARD)
1634	Inventory	household	W. Dotin (Dotting) to B. Jemott	1/6	0M 1F	RB3/3, 593
1641	Sale, 100 acres		P. Hay to Cpt W. Page	1/13	1M 0F	RB3/1, 951
1643	Sale, slaves, chattel	Slaves	P. Hay to A. Hay	1/20		RB3/1, 34
1645	Sale, 71.5 acres		Cpt W. Page to E. Missos	1/2		RB3/3, 722
1647	Lease, 250 acres	sugar, distill-ation	Major W. Hilliard to Col. T. Modiford	3/98	0M 3F	Ligon
1654	Sale, 140 acres	Sugar	W. Baldwin and T. Baldwin to W. Baldwin Jr	1/23	1M 0F	RB3/2, 708
1654	Sale, 3 buildings	Mercan-tile	P. Hancock to J. Hancock	1/3	1M 0F	RB3/2, 717
1654	Sale, 100 acres	Sugar	G. Sanders to Cpt R. Rumbill	1/5	1M 0F	RB3/7, 433
1655	Lease, 87 acres	Sugar	Cpt J. Read to W. Petty	2/16		RB3/2, 799
1656	Lease, plantation & 10 warehouses	Sugar, mercan-tile	Col W. Hilliard to Col G. Standfast, E. Pye, Major E. Chamberline, Capt F. Georges, W. Drax, N. Erros	Negros Indians and Other Slaves		RB3/5, 120
1656	Sale, 100 acres	Sugar	W. Petty to Maj. Read	1/20		RB3/5, 72
1656	Sale, Plantation	Sugar	W. Hilliard to F. Georges	1/98	0M 1F	RB3/5, 123
1656	Sale, 100 acres	Sugar	Srgt Major Read to Capt J Beeke, Col. W. Good		1M 0F	RB3/5, 129
1662	Sale, slaves, cattle	Labor, Livestock	W. Brown to Millresth	1/41		RB3/3, 276
1670	Sale, Slaves	Labor, Clothing	Cpt Peter Wroth to J Kellicott	1/3	0M 1F	RB3/8, 46
1674	Sale, 10 & 18 acres		J. Beeke to T. Sturte	2/10	1M 1F	RB3/9, 72
1678	Sale, 10 & 18 acres		T. Sturte to J. Beeke	2/10	1M 1F	RB3/9 494
1701	Sale, tenements in Bridgetown, 270 acres	Sugar, mercan-tile	J. and E. Stuart to H. Agrew	1/47	1M 0F	RB3/3, 202

The legal status of Indian slaves in the early years of Barbados remains ambiguous. As heathens, masters may have treated them similarly to African slaves, but as potential converts, masters may have treated them more similarly to "Christian servants." Indentured servants were the dominant laboring group of Barbados until midcentury; these Christian servants came from England, Ireland and Scotland, and cultivated the experimental tobacco, cotton, and indigo plantations of the 1630s and 1640s. Irishmen, captured by Cromwell's forces as prisoners of war during the English Civil Wars, became servants bonded for life as they were "Barbadozz'd."[368] Other white laborers had the benefit of contracts that differentiated them from life-long laborers, however, even though they shared close living quarters and material culture with slaves throughout this early period.[369] It was understood that Christians could not serve in perpetuity (although transported criminals serving life sentences, and aforementioned prisoners of war, were exceptions). Nor was their condition passed on to their children.[370] Deeds and leases from the period often list the names of each servant along with the number of "years left to serve" on their contracts, which could span anywhere from three to ten years, averaging almost seven years. [371]

Other "servants" from this early period, however, appear in the record without the benefit of a contract or time limit attached to their service. Such is the case of an Indian woman who

---

[368] Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 6; Newman, *A New World of Labor*, 6; Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race," 435.

[369] Armstrong and Reilly, "Archaeology of Settler Farms."

[370] Europeans had established common law traditions that Christians could not enslave each other, perhaps mirroring Islamic law that was more explicit in forbidding Muslims from enslaving fellow Muslims. See Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 81-84. For exception of transported criminals and other bonded laborers that served for life, see Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery*, 8.

[371] "delivery of six servants for four years a piece," 16 June 1641, Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds (hereafter BARD), RB 3/1, 891. Another deed has two French boys with seven years to serve each, 10 August 1640, BARD, RB 3/1, 945. For voluntary servants in Barbaos between 1635 and 1680, the average term was 6.75 years. See Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery,* 5.

appears on the inventory of William Dotting. Governor Henry Hawley named Dotting to his council in 1631.[372] In 1634, Dotting leased his nine muskets, pots, kettles, kitchen supplies, and servants to Barnard Jemott. There were "five servants Indentures" (including a steward and an overseer) and "an Indian woman servant." Dotting was thus leasing the contract of the five servants to Jemott, but seemingly the whole person of the Indian woman, who had neither an indenture nor the privileged status of a Christian.[373] This Indian servant was, most likely, a slave, perhaps one from the initial transportation from Essequibo to Barbados.

In 1636, the Barbados Council resolved "that Negroes and Indians, that came here to be sold, should serve for Life, unless a Contract was before made to the contrary."[374] Indians who were slaves in practice also became slaves in law, distinguishing them from Christian servants. Perhaps the resolution of the Council came about because African and Indian servants pressured their masters into clarifying their ambiguous and uncodified position. Unfortunately, in the absence of a contract, and the interests of the island being the interests of the planter, the council condemned both groups to serve in perpetuity. It is also unknown how many slaves if any, either African or indigenous, had the type of contracts that would have exempted them. Although I found no example of an Indians or African servants with a contract in Barbados, Richard Dunn found an Indian slave (from Barbados) with a ten-year contract once sold to live in Massachusetts.[375] This 1648 Bill of Sale for "one Indian man called Hope" is said to follow "the

---

[372] *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados, and other the Carribbee Islands, with the Succession of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Barbados to the Year 1742* (London, 1743), reprinted in P. F. Campbell, *Some Early Barbadian Histories* (Barbados, 1993), 206.

[373] Inventory of William Dotin's Goods in Custody of Barnard Jemott, 27 May 1634 (entered 9 August 1649), BARD, RB 3/3, 593-94.

[374] *Memoirs of the First Settlement*, 208.

[375] Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 228.

Orders and Customs of English servants in the said Iland [Barbados], both for maintenance, and other recompense, for and during the full Terme of ten yeares from the day of the date here of."[376] In this case, Hope's new masters were instructed to treat him on terms similar to a Christian indentured servant, serving no more than a period of ten years. In the 1630s and 1640s, the condition of servants and slaves, whether Indian or African, in all English colonies was still "elastic," based on the particular nature of the contract (or lack of one) rather than a set of rigid laws for each ethnic group.[377]

From the 1630s to 1640s, conspiracies and small rebellions among laborers proliferated on the Island. There was a "rebellion" isolated to St Phillips Parish in 1655, wherein both Irish servants and black slaves began looting plantations. Governor Daniel Searle passed laws in the following two years requiring that Irish servants had passes to move throughout the colony, and could not own weapons.[378] For at least one Indian, the ambiguous nomenclature of "servant" persisted to 1655, perhaps subjecting him to similar restrictions. Owner George Sanders rented out his "Servants and other goods and chattel" to Captain Robert Rumbell, including: "*one Indian man servant named George Johnson*, One Negro man by name Owen, One negro Woman by name Mattie with the Increase of what children she shall produce or being forth during the tearme if she shall live [.] Two negro children one boy one girl by name Owen and Moll who are to be returned at the end of the tearme if then living."[379] In this example, George Johnson was

---

[376] Bill of Sale between Susanna Winslow, Edward Winslow and John Mainffort, *Winthrop Papers*, vol. 5, *1645-1649* (Boston, 1947), 196-97.

[377] Fickes, "They Could Not Endure," 77. See also Berlin, "Charter Generations," Chapter 1 in *Generations of Captivity*.

[378] Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race," 436.

[379] Indenture between George Sanders and Captain Robert Rumbell, 2 May 1655, BARD, RB 3/7, 433-35 (my emphasis).

called a “man servant” while the other slaves of African descent had no such title. Johnson’s listing with both a given name and a surname suggests that he may have been the son of an Indian and a Christian servant. Johnson may have used his religious affiliation or parentage to his advantage when claiming his status as an indentured servant rather than a slave in perpetuity, and this parentage might have been more likely English than Irish given the distrust and increasing restrictions on the latter group.

With the Barbados Slave Act and the separate Servant Act of 1661, the positive rights of "negro" slaves decreased, giving them heavier punishments compared to Christian indentured servants. The rights of servants increased, such as providing justices of the peace to hear complaints about masters.[380] Although the different treatment between Christians servants and slaves might have left a gray area for Indian servants or slaves, the Barbados Assembly passed more ordinances with the wording “Negros and other slaves,” making it clear (although not specific) that the category of slave was more capacious than people of African-descent alone. Another particular right granted to servants in these codes, and denied slaves, was the freedom of future generations. The council minutes reveal intense debates about how slaves should be inherited, whether as chattel or real estate, or both. In 1668, the Barbados Assembly finalized the property laws to label slaves real estate, so slaves could be inherited without being subject to the claims of creditors. As Indians were most certainly the “other slaves” encompassed in the slave codes, they too were increasingly subject to a society that preserved the rights of slave owners, and slave owner's children, above everyone else.[381]

---

[380] Rugemer, "The Development of Mastery and Race," 439.

[381] “An Act declaring the Negro-Slaves of this Island to be Real Estates,” 29 April 1668, in *Acts and Laws of Barbados* (London, 1764), TNA, CO 30/1, 64-65. Rugemer points out that Jamaica did not follow this particular legal precedent (although they followed much of the 1661 code). The Jamaica Assembly considering slaves fair game for settling debts upon the death of a slave owner. "The Development of Mastery and Race," 449.

The 1661 unified code to govern all slaves indicates that there was no class difference between African slaves and Indian slaves, but there may have been class differences in those who *owned* Indians, as previously suggested in the narratives of Ligon and du Tertre who noted that wealthy planters owned Indian men as fishers or footmen.[382] Like William Dotting, the council member who owned the first Indian slave found in the deeds, men of high rank and connections appear frequently as Indian slave owners. Of the set of deeds and leases that explicitly sell Indian slaves (Table 1), nine of the original owners are Captains, Majors or Esquires, and seven of the purchasers have similar military honorifics. Members of Barbados's governing elite owned Indian slaves, including the Proprietor Earl of Carlisle's cousins, Peter and Archibald Hay. Carlisle had appointed Archibald Hay (along with James Hay) as trustee of the island, and Peter Hay as Receiver General, in charge of collecting customs, rents, and revenues. In August 1643, Peter sold "all my Christian and negro servants, both men women and children, *with one Indian*, two mares and one coult *with all the profitt produce or incrase that shall happen to arise or bee made of them*" to Archibald.[383] This deed confirms the elite networks of plantation property transactions and that there was little legal difference to these colonists in matters of livestock, African slaves, or Indian slaves changing hands. This document also supports Powell and Courteen's accusations that the Earl of Carlisle's government was responsible for instituting Indian slavery on the island. Under the Carlisle administration, Indians were no longer ambiguously positioned laborers, but slaves whose lineage was owned in perpetuity. Although the clause regarding the "increase" clearly makes the foals of the horses the property of Archibald Hay, this deed could also be an early example of the application of *partus*

---

[382] Du Tertre, *Histoire générale*, Vol 2:484-89, translated and quoted in Richard Price, "Caribbean Fishing and Fishermen: A Historical Sketch," *American Anthropologist* 68 (1966): 1368.

[383] Deed of Peter Hay to Archibald Hay, 25 August 1643 (entered 30 June 1644), BARD, RB 3/1, 34.

sequitur ventrem ("that which is brought forth, follows the womb") to the entire group of slaves, making the children of this Indian slaves as well.

Sir Peter Hay's slaves, "Culley a negro" and "Jug an Indian" were bought and sold together throughout their lives, perhaps demonstrating an equality of status between them. Peter Hay's frequent sales of property, including the initial sale of Culley and Jug to Captain William Page in 1641, communicate his financial desperation.[384] Culley and Jug were included in the sale of Hay's entire plantation: one hundred acres of land (most likely for tobacco production), four indentured servants, six other indentured servants, an unnamed thirteen "Negros"; "Culley a negro" and "Jug an Indian," were listed separately from the other laborers.[385] Neither Culley nor Jug had contracts listed, but they may have had skilled positions to warrant their separate listing from the other anonymous slaves.

Culley and Jug remained together throughout the vicissitudes of the unsteady economy of Barbados in the first half of the seventeenth century. Captain William Page needed to sell Hay's plantation almost as soon as he had acquired it.[386] Then Hay sold it again four years later. By the time of sale, all of the thirteen un-named slaves were gone. They had probably been sold in advance of the land in order to recoup some of the losses generated by investing in a failing plantation. Slaves were ready credit in Barbados; the sailor Henry Whistler reported that Barbadians sold slaves the way that men in England sold sheep.[387] By the time Page sold the one hundred acres to a London gentlemen only "one negro one Indian" were still left attached to the

[384] Peter Hay to Edward Lake, 8 July 1643, BARD, RB 3/1, 352.

[385] Articles of Agreement Peter Hay, Esq to Captain William Page, 21 February 1641 (entered 16 February 1641), BARD, RB 3/1, 951-52.

[386] Invoice of Appurtanences and Moveables which Capt William Page … sold … for the use of Mr. Edmund Keger, 23 October 1645 (entered 6 May 1650) BARD, RB 3/3, 722.

[387] Whistler, "A Jornall of a Voyadg from Stokes Bay," 1654, BL, Sloane Ms. 3926.

deed. These are most likely Culley and Jug. If they were specially skilled or prized, however, it was clearly not because one of their ethnic groups was favored over another for their usefulness. And if Cully had ever scoffed at his association with Jug, it mattered little to those who reduced both men to property.

At least in one instance, a court's appraisal deemed Indian slaves just as valuable as African ones. In 1645, Edmund Reade's court on Barbados seized an Indian slave for damages in a case against Captain James Futter and his partners. The court appraised his Indian slave at the price of 2,500 pounds of tobacco. This is the same price for which merchants sold African slaves in Barbados, according to price lists from the previous year.[388] The appraisal of the island authorities did not reflect the stereotypes of weakness, haughtiness, or resistance to work as expressed in the writings of du Tertre, Ligon, or de Rochefort in the period. Indeed, the reputation of Indian slaves as equally valuable laborers to African slaves persisted into the eighteenth century. A commissioner in Louisiana wrote in 1708 that "it is certain that in the islands an Indian is worth a Negro, it is not like-wise here."[389]

Although there was considerable value in Indian slaves, there is very little evidence in the historical record that any merchants dedicated themselves to a trade in Indian slaves akin to merchants who devoted themselves to the trans-Atlantic slaves trade. Anglo-Barbadian merchants were not successful in the "Indian Trade," an ambiguous term that may either mean trade *with* Indians, or the trade *of* Indians. These documents don't specific which Indian nations or islands were trade partners, or what goods were being exchanged, so it seems likely that

[388] Appraisal of Capt James Futter and partners John Reynals and Arthur Casson's goods, 3 July 1645 (entered 15 July 1645), BARD, RB 3/1, 691.

[389] Quoted in Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 309.

"Indian trade" might be short hand for a trade in Indian slaves.[390] Either way, it was not a profitable venture. In 1639, Anglo-Barbadian Richard Cutt owed James Maxwell, his "coepartner of Indian trade," 7,500 pounds of cotton wool, and in the next year, he owed him 29,580 pounds of cotton."[391]

Anglo-Dutch Trade and Indian Slaves: Barbados and Curaçao in the Sugar Era

The late 1640s saw a diversification of export commodities; experimentation with cotton, tobacco, and indigo cultivation began to give way to sugar production. Efforts to sell the former products for the European market, through Dutch mercantile connections, had been disappointing. In 1638, the earl of Carlisle, then proprietor of Barbados, contracted a merchant to send 43,000 pounds of tobacco to Amsterdam.[392] In 1642, another merchant in Barbados agreed to send 400 pounds of cotton annually to Dutch merchants, and in 1644 Dutch merchants promised to pay 1,311 guilders in exchange for any "good cleaned cotton, tobacco or indigoe."[393] The Anglo-Dutch trade connections that established Barbados had given the Earl of Carlisle hopes of marketing Barbados tobacco in both England and the Netherlands. As we saw in the previous chapter, Anglo-Dutch cooperation in Guiana had already facilitated the planting and export of tobacco crops there.

---

[390] Other documents use "Indian Trade" as a short hand for the Indian slave trade, e.g., Op Vrijdag den April 8, 1672 present de heeren gouverneur Pieter Versterre, Capt Nachtegael & van Muldert & d Huijbert & de heer Secretaris Baty in *Notulen, Ordonnatien (Kopieen) 10 Dec 1670-14 Dec 1680*, NL-HaNa, toegang 1.11.01.01 inv. no. 1011.

[391] February 15, 1639, BARB 3/2 320-321; September 20, 1640, BARB 3/2, 320.

[392] Agreement between Capt Renold Allen of the Water Dogg and Lord Carlisle, May 27, 1641, BARD RB 3/1, 852.

[393] Agreement between Albert Jochemes, Cornelius Heetjes, and Christian Bodchauer, April 5, 1642, BARD RB 3/1, 143; another article of agreement signed between Barbados and Dutch merchants for 1,311 guilders in exchange for any "good cleaned cotton, tobacco or indigoe," December 3, 1644, BARD RB 3/1, 525.

Carlisle would be disappointed that the Dutch could not sell the island's "evil smelling" tobacco.[394] Dutch settlers on the island did help to intensify experiments with sugar production, however. Since the early sixteenth century, scattered Dutch merchants in the Pernambuco region of Brazil owned sugar mills, and their presence eventually lead to a brief territorial conquest of Pernambuco from 1624-1654. In addition to controlling former Portuguese territory, the Dutch West India Company decided, after many doubts as to its ethical implications, to also take over Portuguese slave trading operations that supplied Brazil with its labor force. The WIC captured Elmina castle (present-day Ghana) from the Portuguese in 1637, gradually shifting from gold to slave exports. They went on to capture the Portuguese Fort of Luanda, Angola, the center of the Portuguese slave trade, and hold the fort from 1640-1648. The WIC also held the *Asiento*, the much-coveted monopoly to trade slaves to Spanish territories in the New World at this time. The slave trade became big business for the Dutch WIC, with Dutch Curaçao developing as the major hub for circulating African slaves throughout the Caribbean.[395] However, Dutch territory and sugar-refining prowess in Brazil would be short lived, prompting them to turn to territorial acquisition in Guiana, and the inter-colonial trade, using Curaçao as a transit point.

When Portuguese settlers chased the Dutch from Pernambuco throughout the 1650s, both Dutch and Jewish-Portuguese sugar planters left Brazil for Barbados, Guiana, and the French islands in the Caribbean as places to produce sugar, taking their indigenous Brazilian slaves with

---

[394] Puckrein, *Little England*, 40.

[395] For a detailed timeline of how the Dutch became involved in the African slave trade, see Postma, "The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade," 27-33 and Emmer and van den Boogart, "Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade." For the classic, and still standard, narrative of the Dutch in Brazil, see C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil: 1624-1654* (Oxford, UK: Claredon Press, 1967). See also Meuwese, "An Effective but Fragile Alliance: Brasilianen, Tapuyas, and the Dutch-Portuguese Struggle for Brazil, 1624-1656," Chapter 3 in *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade*. The following chapters will discuss further how the Dutch experience in Brazil influenced Dutch Guiana.

them.[396] On Barbados, the Dutch took advantage of the "free trade with all people in amity with England" teaching the "English the Art of making of Suger." Historian Russell Menand has pointed out that they were not the only nation responsible for disseminating the technology, however.[397] The composition of Barbados plantations shifted from the carding houses of cotton production, to the boiling houses, engines, and coppers for sugar. Anglo-Dutch trade made Barbados a cosmopolitan island by the 1650s, "in habited with all sortes: with English: french: Dch: Scotes: Irrish: Spaniards thay being Jues: *with Ingones: and Miserabell Negros Borne to perpetuall slavery . . .."*[398]

The collapse of Dutch Brazil also, indirectly, brought North American Indians as slaves to the Caribbean. In 1644, the Portuguese recaptured São Luís do Maranhão in Brazil. Four hundred and fifty Dutch WIC employees fled to Curaçao. In Curaçao, Pieter Stuyvesant, then director of the WIC's operations in the Caribbean, then dispatched these soldiers to New Netherlands to fight the Algonquians in Governor Willem Keift's War (1641-1645).[399] Both African and Indian slaves were on the slave market in Curaçao, presumably Algonquians whom had been captured near New Netherland, and Esopous or Lenape people captured in the same region during the Two Esopus Wars (1659-1664).[400]

---

[396] Du Tertre, *Histoire Generale,* 484, 492; Roberts, "Surrendering Suriname," 230.

[397] "An Account of the English Suger Plantations," BL, Egerton Ms. 2395, folio 629. English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Jewish emigrés were also critical in disseminating sugar production. See Menard, *Sweet Negotiations*, 16.

[398] Henry Whistler, "A Jornall of a Voyadg from Stokes Bay: and Intened By gods asistant for the West Inga and performed by the Rigt Honorable Generall Penn: Admirall," 1654, BL, Sloane Ms. 3926. Interestingly, Rugemer uses this source but omits "Injones" when quoting from it, perhaps reflecting a broader scholarly indecision about how to categorize or discuss them within the general trajectory of legislation dividing "white" from "black:" "The Development of Mastery and Race," 434. It is also unclear from the odd punctuation of this source whether Indians are being listed as a separate group of people, of if there are included with "Negroes borne to perpetual slavery."

[399] Gehring, "Introduction," *Curaçao Papers.*

The transport of Indians throughout the Dutch Atlantic, alongside African slaves, is revealed through a debit and credit balance sheet written out in Fort Amsterdam, Curaçao by Dirck Jansen van Olden Burch, the skipper on the appropriately named ship *De N. Nederlandse Indiaen.* Jansen had come to Curacao to receive "ten healthy slaves or male negroes" from the vice-director of Curaçao, Mathias Beck, and bring them back to New Netherlands. These African slaves created a debt of 130 pieces of eight, or 3120 Florins. He is credited with delivering bacon, meat, peas and other provisions from New Netherlands, necessary as Curaçao did not have an agriculturally-based economy. Most pertinent, however, is the credit he received for the "the freight of 10 Nieuw Nederlandt Indians which arrived here abroad the afore-mentioned." Oddly, it appears that Beck was directing Jansen to send them back, since the note says that they, along with the African slaves, "are to be brought to the lord director-general and council in Nieuw Nederlandt, as ordered by the lord director Mathias Beck at 30." Also curious is the 144 Florin credit "by the freight of 6 Curacao Indians at 24 Holland money."[401] Wherever the ultimate destination of either the New Netherland Indians or the Curaçao Indians on this ship, they were certainly not moving freely or autonomously, as they were considered cargo. The timing of this shipment, during the Esopus wars, and the freight charges being taken on by the West Indies Company, implies that these Indians were captives. Other Indians from Curaçao, perhaps free, also appear on lists of departing passengers from Curaçao in the same year, including "Nicolaes, Frans, Kiet" and "Lari," but they are not listed as freight, and neither are their instructions for their delivery. These Indians were, perhaps, Indian servants of the other

[400] Laurence M. Hauptman and Ronald G. Knapp write that Indian slavery was never particularly common in New Netherland, but increased after these conflicts. The defeated and captured Native Americans were enslaved and deported to both Bermuda and Curaçao. Hauptman and Knapp , "Dutch-Aboriginal Internation in New Netherland and Formosa," 172.

[401] Dirck Jansen van Oldenurch, 31 August 1660, Document 69 and 70 in Gehring (ed), *Curaçao Papers*, 174-175.

Dutch people listed, but they were certainly not being shipped as captives at the direction of the WIC.[402] Curaçao, an Atlantic entrepôt, was a place where the many forms of indigenous labor and statuses were on display: a free indigenous population, an enslaved or servile Indians working for the WIC, Indians captured in war and transported as slaves, and Indian travelers, perhaps attacked to European households, but perhaps not.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Indian slaves on Barbados, whether Carib, Algonkian, Arawak, or Tapuyas from Brazil, contributed to the "sugar boom" of the mid-seventeenth century. With one exception, the nine properties that listed Indian slaves from 1654 to 1662 were all sugar plantations, as indicated by the equipment (Table 1).[403] Although there are not narrative documents describing Indians cutting cane or boiling sugar along with African slaves, it does show that Indian slaves contributed to sugar plantations and mostly likely engaged in agricultural activities instead of rather limited tasks of hunting or fishing associated with them. There is also no clear bias for women slaves over male slaves, as has been frequently suggested by those who rely heavily on Ligon's experience with three female domestic servants as evidence for the entire population of Indian slaves on Barbados.

Indian slaves may have also aided the mercantile transactions of the Barbados economy. In 1654, the merchant Peter Hancock sold 160 square feet, a shed, and a building called the "court house" located near the Indian Bridge to John Hancock. The labor force included "one Indian named Sampson one negro man named King one negro Boy called Peg: One Smith named John Mountfield one sawyer named John Stafford one man servant named Howlett one

---

[402] "list of passangers departing from Curacao aboard the ship Den Eyckenboom," 8 May 1660, Document 65 in Gehring (ed), *Curaçao Papers*, 171.

[403] For examples, see Deed Colonel William Hilliard to Colonel George Standfast, et al. 12 March 1653, BARD, RB 3/2, 638; "Deed transferred from William Baldwin Senior and William Baldwin Junior son of Thomas Baldwin," 20 May 1654 (entered 9 June 1654), BARD, RB 3/2, 708-11.

boy called John."[404] The location of the property was near the main port of call: the Indian Bridge was over the Careenage inlet of Carlisle Bay. The location, and relatively small workforce, including both a smith and sawyer, indicate that this property was perhaps involved with the import and cutting of lumber, which Barbadians imported from Guiana.[405] The presence of Indian slaves on properties such as these, in addition to tobacco plantations and sugar plantations, demonstrates that Indian labor was not tied to specific skill sets, but rather evolved to accommodate the demands of the Barbados economy.

In the following chapters, we will see how the first two Anglo-Dutch wars complicated the politics of Indian slave trading and Indian slave raiding. English, Dutch, and French colonists each emphasized preserving, or creating, Indian alliances during the Anglo-Dutch Wars, rather than provoking surrounding indigenous populations. However, Barbadians like Peter Wroth, who captured Indians during these wars in Guiana, continued to sell them on Barbados.[406] The Barbados Assembly did not limit imports of Indians until 1676, and then the law prevented only the importation of rebellious Indians from New England. The Barbados legislature did not forbid the import of any and *all* Indian slaves until 1688. In that year, the Barbados legislature passed a bill entitled the "Act for securing the possession of Negroes and slaves." Most of the text is an attempt to stop the smugglers from circumventing the Royal African Company in bringing in slaves from Africa. However, the end of the act reads: "that all persons whatsoever are prohibited to bring sell and dispose of any Indians to this Island upon paine of forfeiting the

---

[404] Bill of Sale, Peter Handcock to John Hancock, 30 May 1654 (entered 16 June 1654), BARD, RB 3/2, 717-18.

[405] George Warren, *An Impartial Description of Surinam upon the Continent of Guiana in America: With a History of Several Strange Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents* (London, 1667), 16.

[406] The narrative of Peter Wroth will follow in Chapter 5, which will focus more on Indian slavery in the context of the Anglo-Dutch Wars. For the record of his sale of "Semo, an Indian," see Table 1 and BARD, RB 3/8, 46-47.

same unto his Matie: his heirs and successors."[407] The Council Minutes reveal that they added the stipulation regarding Indian slaves in order to "fully meet with the safety of the People of this Island in that particular, to which Act, may be also added a Clause prohibiting the bringing of Inyans to this Island."[408] This did not make the buying or selling of Indians illegal, however. A deed from 1701 shows that "Jack Indian" was sold along with the forty-seven other slaves on the plantation of John and Elizabeth Stuart.[409] Neither did it actually stop colonists from importing Indian slaves. Indian slavery, and slave trading, on Barbados persisted into the eighteenth-century.

Conclusions

Methods to acquire and control Indians within Caribbean colonies were not uniform, and highly dependent on whether a free indigenous population existed on the same island. Less depended on the legal culture of the colonists, whether English, French, or Dutch, and more on the geopolitical position of the the particular island within Caribana. On islands within Caribana, containing substantial populations of Kalinago people, colonization was a fraught process leading to the violent repulsion of European colonists, or the massacre of the indigenous inhabitants, like on St. Kitts. In areas previously conquered by the Spanish, and outside of Caribana, like Curaçao, the challenge for colonists, early on, became balancing the desire for indigenous allies with the need to manage Indian labor. Colonists in English Barbados experienced perhaps the perfect balance of beneficial connections to Caribana, without hosting

---

[407] "An Act for Securing and Possession of Negroes and Slaves," 19 October 1688, passed by the Barbados Assembly, 18 December 1688, Transcript Acts [of the Barbados Assembly], vol. 2, 1682-1698, Barbados Archives, 154-56.

[408] 27 November 1688, Council Minutes 1684-1689, Barbados Archives 460-62.

[409] Sale of John and Elizabeth Stuart to Hugh Agrew, 2 August 1701, BARD RB 3/3, 202-04.

an indigenous population itself. Combined with the favorable physical geography of the island, this allowed for maximum control over imported Indian and African laboring populations. This is reflected in the high integration of the Indian slave and African slave populations on Barbados.

Part III: Allies and Rebels

Chapter 5: English Surinam

In the third part of this dissertation, we will examine the interplay of indigenous relationships and Anglo-Dutch cooperation on the Indian slave trade in Guiana. In the previous chapter, we noted that the 1660s brought a cooling-off period in the relations between the Kalinago and English, Dutch, and French in the Lesser Antilles. This period saw a reversal of fortunes in Guiana, however, where small European settlements, growing with an increase of tobacco production, started to threaten the cooperative indigenous people that had previously protected their presence. Barbados, like the successful colonies in Guiana, benefited from Anglo-Dutch cooperation, settlement, and jointly extracted Indian labor. Although the First Anglo-Dutch War (1650-1652) had little impact on the Caribbean, the Second-Anglo Dutch war (1664-1667) ripped apart the relationship between the English, Dutch, and their indigenous partners. I argue that the Second Anglo-Dutch war represents a peak period in the Indian slave trade from Guiana, especially to Barbados, as these entangled alliances became acceptable rationales for enslaving Indians via "just wars."

Chapter 5 will explore the rise of English Surinam as an outgrowth of English Barbados, Dutch Brazil, and previous English and Dutch colonial attempts throughout Guiana. The periodization of "English Surinam" (1650-1667) and "Dutch Suriname" (1667-1975) is a distinction at the level of governance, but does not strictly reflect the various origins of the settlers in this region.[410] The recent historiography of seventeenth-century Suriname encourages scholars to acknowledge that this region has always been a place of "cohabitation" between the

[410][410] My choice of how to spell Surinam(e) throughout this dissertation reflects the periodization; "Surinam" is the English spelling, used for descriptions of the English colony. For all other usages, including geographical identification of the River, I use "Suriname."

indigenous, enslaved African, English, Dutch, and various other European populations.[411] Colonists in Suriname carved out its plantations among a greater region of indigenous territory in Caribana, creating continuous re-negotiations regarding trade and war with nearby indigenous groups. Unfortunately, few descriptive sources exist to detail what life what like for these various factions, particularly slaves and indigenous people, when Surinam was under English control. Here, I will use Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* as a descriptive source, arguing that the author had privileged knowledge of English Surinam in the era of the Anglo-Dutch Wars, either through espionage in England and Holland, visiting the colony herself, or both. Although the main narrative of *Oroonoko*, about an African prince and slave rebel in English Surinam is fictitious, I argue that it was inspired by the real Indian War and Slave Rebellion of 1678-1680 in Dutch Suriname. This war was the result of the shifting indigenous alliances of the Anglo-Dutch Wars (Chapter 6).[412] I consider Behn a source in the same vein as Walter Raleigh, mixing a detailed first-person account with romanticized legends, and requiring an alert reader to parse historical truths from fictitious flourishes.[413] Behn's narrative is an especially valuable source due to her description of small-time traders who engaged directly with indigenous middlemen, and her

---

[411] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname;" Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style".

[412] Much more scholarly attention, and therefore evidence, exists to actually place Aphra Behn in Surinam, whereas nothing is known about the author George Warren, whose *Description of Suriname* (1667) is nevertheless often, and unquestionably, cited by historians. Laura Brown, "The Romance of Empire: Oroonoko and the Trade in Slaves" In *The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature*, edited by Laura Brown and Felicity Nussbaum (New York and London: Methuen, 1987); Katharine M. Rogers, "Fact and Fiction in Aprha Behn's 'Oroonoko'" *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (spring 1988): 1-15; Janet Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Elliott Visconsi, "A Degenerate Race: English Barbarism in Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko' and 'the Window Ranter,'" *ELH* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 673–701; Vernon Guy Dickson, "Authorizing Oroonoko: Truth, Wonder, and Exemplarity in Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko' "*Studies in English Literature* 47, No. 3, (Summer, 2007): 573-594.

[413] Derek Hughes has noted the similarities in style between Raleigh's *Discovery* and Behn's *Oroonoko*, "Introduction," *Versions of Blackness*, xix. Schmidt also comments on Raleigh as a "Romance" in his introduction "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest" *The Discovery of Guiana.*

details about the violent repercussions of Anglo-Dutch conflicts on relations with the surrounding native population of Suriname.

1620-1650: Surinam as the potential heir to Barbados and Brazil

Barbados's extensive trade connections and cosmopolitanism created a sugar juggernaut. Barbados began to overtake Brazil in its productivity, and in the value of its sugar exports by the mid-seventeenth century. Barbados could not compete in terms of total volume, however, as they simply did not have the land available for sugar plantations.[414] The limits to physical expansion, combined with Barbados's deforestation, made the lush forests and large tracts of land available in Guiana especially attractive.[415] In the Dutch Caribbean, the success of the Essequibo river colony under Groenewegen gave other merchants hope that they could capitalize on the renewed war with the Iberians after the truce of 1609-1621. The soldiers of this renewed war were the merchants, privateers, and company servants of the Dutch West India Company, directed by the Heren XIX, and led by the largest and most powerful chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland.[416]

For both the English and the Dutch, Guiana was touted as the next Brazil. In Chapter 3, we saw how Anglo-Dutch cooperation had enabled the few successful collaborations in Guiana, especially with nations like the Yao. In Chapter 4, we saw how these Anglo-Dutch connections also facilitated Barbados's success. The mid-seventeenth century presented a challenge to these collaborative efforts, and new, previously resistant indigenous partners, both Carib and Arawak, became more important partners in the successes of English and Dutch colonies.[417] The Arawak

[414] Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 65.

[415] Bemish and Roberts, "Venturing Out," 50-51; Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 230.

[416] Lorimer*, English and Irish Settlement*, 101; Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 42.

and Carib who lived around the Essequibo and Berbice rivers had collaboratively hosted a Dutch presence at both, since 1616 and 1627, respectively.

Berbice, east of the Essequibo River, is the largest river between the Orinoco and Amazon. Its early colonization was the project of Abraham van Pere, one of the Directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the WIC. He received a patronate (or patroonship) to privately colonize the area around the river, although he had to pay dues and get permission for all trading vessels from Zeeland. The colonists, initially only about twenty men and ten boys (probably orphans), learned tobacco cultivation from the nearby Arawak and Carib population. Tobacco cultivation was not particularly successful, however, and Van Pere's family decided to focus on trading Annatto with their chief allies the Arawak. Both Arawak and Carib people had traditions of anointing themselves with Annatto, making a paint with the crushed seeds of the Achiote tree and mixed with oil.[418] The Dutch would take the seeds, already shelled and crushed by indigenous trade partners, and then ship them in barrels back to the Netherlands for further processing and use as a red, orange, or yellow dye, most likely to color cheese and chocolate. Following the Essequibo's period of contraband trade in tobacco, that colony followed Berbice in shifting to annatto export.[419] During the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Berbice still had a "strong garrison" and continued to be "a good factory for Annotta Dye and Druggs."[420] The Dutch colonies in Essequibo and Berbice would prove to be exceptional among the other attempts at settlement in

[417] Respectively, but not uniformly. The Carib and Arawak were still large groups, with many constituent and affiliated tribes beneath these general categorizations who dissented from the general alliance formations.
[418] Du Tertre, *Historie Générale* Vol II: 149.

[419] Van den Bel, Hulsman, and Wagenaar, "Historical Context of American Voyages," Chapter 3 in *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana,* 49-55. The Van Pere family retained the patroonship of Berbice until 1720 when they left it to the *Society of Berbice:* ibid, 53.

[420] Major John Scott, "The Description of Guiana," Egerton Ms. 2395, ff. 37v-42v, BL. I am not sure what kind of "Druggs" Scott is referring to here.

Guiana, demonstrating amicable indigenous-colonial trade relations rather than indigenous resistance to colonists encroaching upon Caribana.

Closer to the Amazon, the Portuguese estimated that there were between 250-400 English, Irish, and Dutchmen impinging upon their territory in Brazil in the 1620s. The Dutch WIC had founded settlements on the Xingu and Paru Rivers, both tributaries of the Amazon. The WIC attracted sailors and servants from Ireland (and other countries) in addition to the Netherlands, leaving English ventures understaffed. English Captain Roger North was not interested in trading tobacco or dyes like in the successful Dutch colonies; he looked towards Brazil as a model to start sugar manufacture.[421] Although documents reveal that King James I received many optimistic petitions and permissions to settle the region, he never actually condoned North's settlements, another limit to English recruitment.[422] From 1623 to 1625, these WIC, English, and Irish settlers joined forces against Portuguese, who wanted to drive them off the Xingu and Paru. In 1625, the Portuguese massacred at least fifty-four. The surviving eighty English, Irish, and Dutchmen fled, and some Dutch refugees joined Harcourt's settlement at the Wiapoco. The Portuguese attacked Fort North again in 1631, and the surviving English, including North, abandoned the Amazon to go back to England. Back in England, North was

---

[421] Lorimer*, English and Irish Settlement*, 62-70.

[422] "Brief relation of the present state of the business of Guiana" TNA CO 1/4, No. 28 June 20, 1627; "Inducements to be propounded to the King to take under his protection the adventurers to the river Amazon or Guiana and their plantation" TNA CO 1/5, No. 28, 1629. Later adventurers also continued to consider Guiana" Easy to be possessed; the natives friendly, the discoverers have learnt their language. Chief commodities and produce. One thousand men at 10,000*l.* charge required to settle the plantation; the money would be returned to the adventurers in cottons, woods, tobacco, & c., within one year. The Portuguese have a plantation of 150 persons within 160 leagues. Impossible for the Spaniards to come near," "Description of a rich plantation called "the Tapoywasooze, and the Towyse-yarrowes Countries, lying upon the coast of Guiana, distant from the West Indies eastwards 350 leagues; discovered by Capt. Will. Clovell, and Thos. Tyndall, British Archives, CO 1/10, No. 81, 1640?.

arrested for his attempts at settlement without James's permission, and forbidden from returning to the region; Harcourt died a couple years after in the struggling Wiapoco colony.[423]

Joining Harcourt's English plantation gave settlers a safe distance from the Portuguese, but the increase in European population aggravated the Caribs surrounding the Wiapoco. This resulted in the 1629 skirmish that produced the five Indian captives enslaved in Barbados (Chapter 4). Harcourt had, perhaps, made a tragic misstep during his 1609 voyage to the region, courting the alliance of the Yao people, and letting the Yao persuade him to fight with them against the Carib. Although the Yao had been faithful friends of Raleigh, Keymis, and Harcourt, they themselves were no match for the political consolidation of the Carib that occurred in the early seventeenth century.[424] Although he did not act on it, Harcourt already saw the trend of Carib dominance in the region; comparing his own chart of rivers and indigenous group to the earlier chart of Keymis (see Appendix A and B) it seems obvious that the Caribs were supplanting smaller tribes like the Yao all over Guiana. Between 1609 and 1629, the Caribs who attacked Harcourt on the Wiapoco had already, probably, captured, and either killed or enslaved the Yao, and gradually incorporated the children and women into Carib society through slavery, adoption, and marriage.

Just as English and Dutch men who fled from the Amazon had fled to Harcourt's settlement, some settlers on the Wiapoco, in turn, were driven westward towards the Suriname River.[425] Indigenous resistance from Caribana was, yet again, the primary reason that first settlements around the Suriname River failed. Major John Scott's "Description of Guiana," a

---

[423] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 67, 78-84, 95.

[424] Whitehead, "Carib Ethnic Soldiering."

[425] "Extracts from a further deposition by John Ellinger, 10th/20th May 1631," in Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 336; Ibid, 95.

concise history of the region prior to the Second Anglo-Dutch war in 1665, reads like an enumeration of Guiana's native population blocking colonists from expansion. The Dutch at Cayenne were "gauled by the Indians" in 1613; the French at the Marrawijne were "destroyed by the Natives" in 1625, the French at the Saramacca were ruined by illness and "The Indians being Troublesome" in 1626.[426] Although Scott only comments on how these conflicts devastated the colonial populations, we can infer from previous conflicts that these battles had an equally negative impact on indigenous communities, leading to capture, shipment and exile, and enslavement elsewhere in the Caribbean.

In 1633, the Suriname River had fifty-six English settlers, most likely refugees from conflicts with the Portuguese and their Indian allies closer to the Amazon.[427] From 1639-1642, the region received 370 French men who settled the nearby Saramacca River, just west and parallel to the Suriname. Subsequent families spread out from the Saramacca to the Suriname and Corantijn Rivers. There, they might have joined the refugee Englishmen, who seemed to be surviving in the low-numbers, but the French colonists "grew careless" in their expansion and "had differance with ye Indians, and were all cut of in one Day." A small number of French and English made it through alive, but it was probably not their survival, but ignorant optimism that prompted the Earl of Warwick to promote a colony of 300 English families around the Suriname, Saramacca, and Corantijn, the same space as the French. From 1643 to 1645 these English colonists "lived peacefully" until they began to "Quarrell" with the remaining French and, once more, they "were cut of by the natives."[428] From Scott's narrative, it seems that small groups of

---

[426] Scott, "The Description of Guiana."

[427] Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 112.

[428] Scott, "The Description of Guiana."

settlers were initially tolerated by the Carib and Arawak population, who perhaps saw benefit from what the European colonists offered in trade. As colonists reached a certain critical mass, however, the Carib and Arawak decided against hosting these invaders permanently.

Dutch Brazil

Although there were no flourishing English colonies in Guiana in the 1630s, the Dutch successes at Essequibo and Berbice became models for further Dutch expansion. When the Dutch came to Pernambuco, in northeastern Brazil, the native population had already experienced, and suffered through, the Portuguese presence for over one hundred years. Some Indians had accepted, or saw no other choice but accepting, the Portuguese as allies. The Portuguese called these allies the Tupi. The Tupi had been the group that helped drive out the English and Dutch settlers from the Xingu and Paru tributaries of the Amazon. But the Tupi-Portuguese alliance had also alienated other groups through violence and enslavement. In a similar pattern to Carib consolidation in Guiana, a number of diverse tribes of Brazilian Indians ("Brasilianen" in Dutch) encouraged the WIC to invade the region in the hopes of supplanting the Portuguese. A number of Portiguar Indians came to the Netherlands between 1625-1630 to learn Dutch, and to lobby the WIC to fight the Portuguese.[429] The Dutch gradually acquired territory through these connections, and didn't want their alliances jeopardized by further antagonizing Indian populations with slave raids. In 1629, the Heren XIX ordered that the governors of Dutch Brazil ought to regulate indigenous inhabitants under the same laws as colonists, meaning they should be treated as subjects, not slaves.[430]

---

[429] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade*, 155.

[430] Schiltkamp, “On Common Ground," 78-79.

Unfortunately, many Dutch planters had already adopted the insidious ethnographic dichotomy between 'friendly' Tupi Indians and 'enemy' Tapuya Indians that the Portuguese had used to justify their use of Tapuya slave labor on sugar mills.[431] Despite WIC discouragement of slavery, Indians who had been enslaved already on Portuguese plantations did not experience a change in their status. More plantations were taken over by the Dutch as they controlled an increasing amount of territory in the Pernambuco region throughout the 1630s. In addition to retaining Indian slaves on sugar plantations, the Dutch kept Indian laborers as salt miners. Although the WIC did repay some native workers with reciprocal payments in bleached linens, many were hired out against their will. In 1636, a set of instructions from the WIC's Heren XIX to Brazil more explicitly prohibited Dutch colonists from enslaving Indians. J.A. Schiltkamp posits that these instructions, although specific to Brazil, were intended for all of the WIC's colonies, as few other directions on the issue of Indian slavery existed.[432] These regulations did not deter colonists, particularly during acute shortages of workers. After a smallpox epidemic in 1642 (which killed one thousand native workers) the planters brazenly enslaved the Brasilianen, their former allies, to work in sugar mills and in the salt-pans of Ceará, lying northwest of the Dutch capital of Mauritsstad (present-day Recife). [433]

In no small part due to alienating former indigenous allies, Dutch Brazil was a short-lived victory for the WIC. Throughout the 1640s-1650s, the Portuguese regained territory, and both

---

[431] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade*, 91

[432] Schiltkamp, "On Common Ground," 78-79; Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade*, 160.

[433] Goslinga, *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam*, 20. Meuwese writes that the WIC "frequently issued ordinances reminding the colonists that Brasilianen could not be held as slaves. Although the enslavement of Brasilianen in the four captaincies of Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Paraíba, and Rio Grande remained indeed limited during the 1630s and 1640s, there are frequent instances of WIC personnel stationed in the aldeias who hired out Brasilianen to moradores against the will of the natives. In October 1638, Maurits and the High Council fired the WIC official James Wouts from his position as contact-person in the aldeia Japipe in Rio Grande based on 'the complains made about him by the Brasilianen," Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 160-167.

Dutch and Portuguese Jewish planters fled from Pernambuco. By 1654, the collapse of Dutch Brazil was complete. Some exiles, as mentioned in Chapter 4, found homes in Barbados and the French Caribbean, while the more abundant soil of Guiana convinced some to stay in South America. Although there were a handful of other Dutch settlers in Surinam at the time from other failed colonies, historian Suze Zijstra has found few examples of Dutch planters in Brazil going to Surinam after the Portuguese reconquest. Dutch and Jewish planters, who may have tried going back to Europe initially, favored the more established Dutch colonies of Essequibo and Berbice if they made a return to America. After the fall of Dutch Brazil, the States General pushed migration to Guiana as the best option to recreate Pernambuco-style sugar plantations, as the Dutch Caribbean islands were unsuitable for large-scale agriculture. Fewer Dutch settlers left the Netherlands for Guiana than they hoped, however.[434]

Anglo-Dutch Conflicts and English Surinam

Despite Dutch losses in Brazil, the United Provinces of the Netherlands was still experiencing a golden age of global trade, enjoying the fruits of their independence from the Habsburgs. Eager to mimic these successes, Parliamentarians in England began to wage their own war to become a protestant republic. However, the events of the English Civil War did not resonate in the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Holland, instead, became a refuge for royalists, including Francis Lord Willoughby of Parnham, future governor of Barbados.[435] Willoughby, after a short tenure as Speaker of the House of Lords, fled to Holland in 1647.

---

[434] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 43; Koot, "An Adaptive Presence"; Wim Klooster, "The Essequibo Liberties: The Link Between Jewish Brazil and Jewish Suriname," *Studia Rosenthalia* 42/43 (2010): 77-82.

[435] Sarah Barber, "Power in the English Caribbean: The Proprietorship of Lord Willoughby of Parham," *Constructing Early Modern Empires: Proprietary Ventures in the Atlantic World, 1500-1750*, Wim Klooster and Benjamin Schmidt, eds, Vol. 11 (Atlantic World. Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), 191.

There, he might have met a young Aphra Behn. Behn was an unpublished nobody at the time, but her well-connected foster brother, Thomas Colepepper, was a member of a secret society of Royalists called the Sealed Knot. Colpepper knew Willoughby, a fellow member of the society. At the behest of Colepepper, Behn probably began an unintentional career in espionage by slipping messages back and forth between exiles in Holland and royalists in England.[436]

Like the royalist refugees they hosted, members of the States General disapproved of the 1649 regicide of Charles I. Anglo-Dutch relations were at a crucial juncture. Soon after the regicide, the exiled Charles II appointed Willoughby as Governor of the English Caribbean. Willoughby arrived in Barbados in 1650, an island that already had an "ultra-royalist" governor, Humphrey Walrond.[437] At this point, both Royalists and Parliamentary forces courted trade partnerships with the Dutch. The Rump Parliament's sent a mission to the Hague in 1651, proposing that the United Provinces enter into a commercial and political union with England, seeing it as only natural for the two protestant republics to be in league with one another.[438] The regicide had soured any friendly feelings from this shared identity, however, and they had little to gain from sharing their trade empire with the English. The States General rejected the offer. In retaliation, the Rump Parliament passed the first Navigation Act, which was designed to push the Dutch out of trade, legislating that all goods to English colonies needed to travel on English ships. In the Caribbean these had the most deleterious affect on planters who had depended on Dutch shipments of slaves, as well as foodstuffs and other supplies.[439] Francis Willoughby, an

---

[436] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*. 30-31.

[437] Barber, "Power in the English Caribbean," 192.

[438] Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, *Ideologies and the making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 11-82; Charles R. Boxer, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the 17th Century: 1652-1674* (London, UK: National Maritime Museum, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974) 18-19.

[439] Koot, "An Adaptive Presence"; idem, 'A Dangerous Principle,'" idem, *Empire at the Periphery*.

appointee of Charles II rather than Parliament, a former guest of the Dutch, and charged with the sustenance of colonies dependent on slaves and commerce, was in no way disposed to uphold these restrictions.

In Barbados, Willoughby and his council submitted a petition that complained about the proposed restrictions of "an Act prohibiting trade with the Barbados, Virginia, Bermudes and Antegoe." (The English had colonized Virginia is 1607, Bermuda in 1612, and Antigua in 1632). The Barbadian colonists were chagrined that restrictions on trade with the Dutch had been made without any "representatives" of their interests in Parliament. Without a sense of irony, they wrote that the new laws would liken them to slaves, especially to the licensed dealers from whom they would now purchase *actual* slaves. The Barbadians argued that they had settled the land at their own expense and should receive the benefits of their own trade. Furthermore, the council was not ready to turn their backs so quickly on the Dutch. Anglo-Barbadian colonists were “beholding to the Dutch for their subsistence" and recognized "how difficult it would have ben (without their assistances) ever to have settled this place," gesturing at early connections to the Dutch colony of Essequibo. They, just as colonists of all nations throughout the Caribbean, had depended on Dutch *kleine vaart* trade for the "necessary comforts they bring us and how much cheaper they sell their Commodities to us then our owne Nation."[440]

Francis Willougby's instinct for self-preservation had led him to Holland, then to Barbados, and would eventually lead him to the Suriname River. He was preceded by two acquaintances in 1650, Major Anthony Rowse and George Marten, who went with one hundred colonists from Barbados, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat to Suriname. Historian Sarah

[440] *A Declaration set forth by the Lord Lieutenant the Gentlemen of the Councell and assembly occasioned from the view of a printed paper Entitled an Act prohibited trade with the Barbados, Virginia, Bermudes and Antegoe*, February 18, 1650 (o.s.). *Early English Books Online*, durable URL: http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:165972:2

Barber has presented evidence that these two gentlemen might have acted on behalf of Francis Willoughby, but they also might have been Parlimentarians opposed to Willoughby's governorship on Barbados who were trying to create an independent colony. In 1651, Willoughby sent men to join, or perhaps usurp, Rowse and Marten's settlement.[441] Willoughby set "Fort Willoughby" (present-day Paramaribo) at the mouth of the river, and called the region, which included the Suriname, Marrowijne, Saramacca, Coppename and Berbice Rivers, "Willoughbyland."[442] Willougby's men "fortified it and furnished it with about 300 men" at Willoughby's expense. The colony would not have survived, however, without Rowse making a "firme peace wth the Indians," supposedly by invoking Raleigh's name and legacy with the indigenous population.[443]

In 1651, Parliamentary forces led by Sir George Ayscue removed Willoughby from his governorship in Barbados. The Barbados's council, fearful that Parliament might abandon Willoughby's colony (known as "Surinam"), recommended to Ayscue that "if taken under the protection of the Commonwealth, [it] would, in seven years, appear far more considerable than Brazil." Ayscue was sensitive to the economic potential involved, as well Surinam's strategic position. The Barbados Council also assured Ayscue that a major benefit would be the "conversion of the Indians." The rhetoric about conversion was lip-service to the English Republic's evangelical goals, but it also demonstrates a desire to court indigenous allies.[444] In

---

[441] Willoughby's Settlement of Guiana, pp. a50-a51 of transcript, February 16, 1651; Colonel Thomas Modyford to John Bradshaw, from Council Minutes of the Barbados Assembly, c. 1625 to 1667, Barbados Archives; Barber, "Power in the Caribbean," 196.

[442] Reasons offered by the Lord Willoughbie why he ought not to bee confined in his settlement upon Serranam, Egerton Ms. 2395, f. 279, BL; "Lieutentant General Byams Journal of Guiana 1665-1667," Sloane Manuscript 3662, BL.

[443] Scott, "Description of Guiana."

return for his surrender, and going peacefully from Barbados to Surinam, Ayscue allowed Willoughby to keep Surinam as a proprietary colony. However, the Parliamentary forces decided to appoint their own governor. Their appointee, Captain Richard Holdip, was immediately unpopular with the remaining colonists.[445] Willoughby negotiated to retain his land in England, Barbados, and Antigua as well, so after only a brief stay in Surinam to set up his Parham Hill Plantation, Willoughby went back to England.[446] It was during this time in England that he perhaps renewed contact with Aphra Behn, and considered her sharp intellect and descriptive pen, combined with an unremarkable lineage and appearance, to be a perfect attributes to keep him informed on his possessions in Surinam.[447] Surinam's status as a proprietary colony helped it to remain exempt from the Navigation Acts. Colonies in Barbados and the other English Caribbean Islands were burdened by the 4.5% duty on exports.[448] This gave Surinam a distinct advantage, and a window for growth in an otherwise new era of trade restrictions.

The Navigation Acts continued to aggravate Dutch merchants, although not ruin them. The Barbadian colonial government was not interested in treating the Dutch ships in need of assistance as enemies, although the Navigation Acts were used to gain advantages in trade. On June 3, 1652, they reported: "Some Holland Ships of war that had been near 11 months on the coast of Brazil against the Portuguese, were allowed to take in supplies at Barbados." However, the same source shows that Barbadians gamely used the Navigation Acts to gain an advantage

[444] Willoughby's Settlement of Guiana, pp. a50-a51 of transcript, February 16, 1652, H1; Colonel Thomas Modyford to John Bradshaw, Barbados Archives, Council Minutes of the Barbados Assembly, c. 1625 to 1667. These goals are outlined in: "A Proposition for erecting a West India Company for the better interest of the commonwealth in America," [1655?], Egerton Ms. 2395, ff. 87-88, BL. My research indicates that neither the English nor the Dutch were to make concerted missionary efforts in Suriname during the seventeenth century.

[445] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 31-32.

[446] Barber, "Power in the English Caribbean, 196.

[447] Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, 38-44.

[448] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 241.

over the Dutch in their trade with Indians, seizing "as lawful prizes. . .Three Hollanders, merchant ships, for trading with the Indians . . . as also the Mary, of Amsterdam, laden with French wine and brandy."[449] The growing commercial, naval, and colonial rivalry between the English and the Dutch had become a global conflict and prompted the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654).[450] Barbados's increased naval presence forced many Dutch merchants, many of whom stayed on Barbados, to transition from large vessels to smaller ships to avoid being caught as prizes. [451] This *kleine vaart* shipping would work for some merchants, but not for Dutch planters who suffered doubly from the loss of connections to the Netherlands, and Barbados's export taxes. Both the Dutch and the English had an eye on expansion in Guiana, a new frontier of colonial competition. The architects of this expansion envisioned, as many had before them, a space where both Indian alliances and native laborers facilitated colonization.

When the First Anglo-Dutch War concluded, the English turned towards the Carib and against their older enemy, the Spanish, in their plan to take over more territory in the Caribbean. Cromwell's "Western Design" included renewed interest in creating alliances with the Kalinago, soliciting them in their fight against their mutual enemies.[452] Caribs in Guiana seemed like potential allies as well. In 1654, the future Governor of Jamaica and former rival of Willoughby in Barbados, Colonel Modyford, wrote to Cromwell's Secretary of State, advising the conquest of the Orinoco River from the Spanish. His plan harkened back to the proposals of Walter Raleigh: he wrote that they could rely on native allies, and that taking the Orinoco would give the English access to Peru. In addition, he considered the proximity to both Barbados (a four- or

---

[449] Council Minutes of the Barbados Assembly c 1625-1667, pp. a54-a55, June 3, 1652.

[450] Boxer, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars,* 2-3.

[451] Koot, "An Adaptive Presence."

[452] "A Proposition for erecting a West India Company for the better interest of the commonwealth in America."

five-day journey) and Surinam as boons in case they needed military aid. English Surinam, at the time, he estimated, had "about 600 men besides women and children." Modyford also assumed that the indigenous inhabitants would welcome the English. He thought they could make "great use . . .of the naked Indians, in planting, trading, and other necessaries, in time of peace, and the helping the English in time of war, are no mean considerations."[453] This quote implies that Modyford was already aware that Indians had helped plant crops and traded annatto along the Orinoco, Berbice, Essequibo, Wiapoco. These activities were also probably beginning in Surinam. Willoughby proposed a different plan of attack on the Spanish, but still considered indigenous allies to be a trump card. He wrote that they could fight the Spaniards at Margarita Island and Cartagena "by draweings in diverse neighboyringe nations of the Indians (prone to the English) and inverate enemyes to the Spayniards."[454]

Indian Traders and Slaves in English Surinam, 1650-1664

Although Caribs had rebuffed previous attempts of the French and English to settle Surinam in the 1630s and 1640s, the English renewed interest in alliance potentially facilitated a new era of friendly relations with the neighboring Carib population around Surinam. After Holdip left from his brief governorship of 1652-1654, Willoughby's new lieutenant governor, William Byam, received the colony "in a flourishing Condicion and in p[er]fect Peace w[i]th the

---

[453] "A Paper of col. Muddiford concerning the West Indies," in "State Papers, 1654: December (4 of 4)," in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 3, December 1654 - August 1655*, ed. Thomas Birch (London: Fletcher Gyles, 1742), 46-63. *British History Online*, accessed August 22, 2016, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/thurloe-papers/vol3/pp46-63. Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 237; Barber, "Power in the English Caribbean," 198. Both Barber and Roberts apply this quote to the Suriname River rather than the Orinoco. Furthermore, Roberts writes that Modyford's hopes to use Indian labor were "never realized," although Indians had been helping to plant and trade with English colonists throughout Guiana in the preceding decades (Chapter 3), and would continue to do so in Surinam.

[454] "Reasons Offered by the Lord Willoughby why Hee ought not to be confined in his Settlement upon Serranam."

Indians."[455] Aphra Behn's first-person narrator in *Oroonoko* reported similar peace, dismissing (pre-emptively) any abuse or enslavement of the natives. She wrote that the slaves in the colony are from Africa and "not *Natives* of the place; for those [native] we live with in perfect Amity, without daring to command 'em; but on the contrary, caress 'em with all the brotherly and friendly Affection in the World; trading with 'em for their Fish, Venison, Buffilo's, Skins, and little Rarities." Her insistence that the slaves in the region were *not* Indian, however, indicates that this practice was not uncommon, and would have at least been known to her readers through the Black Legend. This opening text, on the amity of indigenous relations with English colonists, is consistent with the rhetoric of her predecessor Raleigh, but inconsistent with information that follows in her account.[456] The rest of her text presents a much more complicated and violent picture of the indigenous politics in seventeenth-century English Surinam, including her own acknowledgment of using an Indian slave to row her and an English trader through the regions numerous rivers and creeks.

The Indians surrounding Surinam were, by most contemporary accounts, ethnically Carib, "the most numerous nacon" in Guiana.[457] Peace with the Caribs, who had previously driven out so many other English colonists, was created, primarily, through trade in cassava, meat, and wood (similar to the goods mentioned by Behn). The lush forests of Surinam helped the English export timber to Barbados, where, in 1654, "the boards and planks from Surinam"

---

[455] Scott, "Description of Guiana."

[456] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 124-125; Derek Hughes, "Introduction," viii.

[457] The most numerous nacon of Indians in Guiana are ye Caribs, and thse are Inhabited in Aricare about 6000 Careb families In Wiapoca, Macoria, & Abrewace, Eleven thousand Careebe Families In the River Marrawina, about 800 Careb Families and up the same River, and towards the head of Sinnamar lives about 1400 Paricoates, the great Masters of Poyson in America,, they prtend to poyson Fountaines are a people very formall, marrye ever within their own nation; the Careebs have some Judgemt in ye art of Poisoning thier Arrows and are great Masters in the cure but short of these people"; "In Suranam, Commowina, Suramaco, Copenha, & Curriandteen are about 5000 Careeb Families, and there livves in Suramaeo and the upper pts of Suranam about 1400 Turroomaes, and up Curianteen about 1200 Sapoyos; Scott, "Description of Guiana, 1665."

sold "so well on the island" because of Barbados's early deforestation.[458] Although tobacco, annatto, and the export of dyewoods sustained the Dutch along the Essequibo and Berbice Rivers, the Anglo-Barbadians who came to Surinam were primarily interesting in expanding Barbados's sugar enterprise.[459]

Deeds from the Barbados Archives show that Anglo-Barbados sugar planters purchased large tracts of land in Surinam for sugar production starting in the 1650s. In 1654, merchant Tobias Frere and his partners John Arnett and John Egron sold one thousand acres of land to John Frere.[460] In 1659, a woman named Rebeccah Austen sold her family's remaining thirteen acres in Barbados so that she could join her husband and family in Surinam.[461] Deeds also show that within the first decade of settlement, the potential fertility of the region had attracted interest from London merchants. Historian Russell Menard argues that Maurice Thompson and the Noell family, especially Martin Noell, were the biggest investors in Barbados' "sugar boom," and started buying and selling land to benefit from Surinam's potential sugar boom as well. In 1659, Thomas Noell sold 2,000 acres on the "River of Parra in ye English colony and settled neere ye Rever of Surrynam in ye Province of Guiana" to two other London merchants.[462]

---

[458] Biet, quoted in Handler (ed, trans) "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados," 65.

[459] George Warren's narrative suggested that, under the English where traders were independent from large merchant companies, annatto was simply a curiosity because of their indigenous usages. As for dye woods, Warren wrote that the "Dying-Woods" of Surinam were not "wanting, but more minded by the Dutch than the English." Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 17. *Early English Books Online.* Du Tertre writes that the French were also competing for annatto production by the 1660s. Du Tertre, *Historie Générale* II: 149.

[460] Deed Tobias Frere Esquire to Capt. John Frere, May 5, 1654 (entered May 24, 1654), Barbados Archives Recopied Deeds, RB 3/2, 691-692.

[461] October 12, 1659, BARD, RB 3/5, 525-527.

[462] Indenture between Thomas Noell and George Robinson and Thomas Massam, September 14, 1659, BARD RB 3/5 873-874; Menard, *Sweet Negotiations*, 59.

In the 1660s, the population of English Surinam grew steadily through migration from Barbados, an outpouring of Barbados colonists that matched the expansionist direction of Francis Willoughby. In 1660, Charles II restored Willoughby to his governorship as he himself retook the English throne. Willoughby's priority was not visiting Surinam, however. His primary project seems to have been securing additional Caribbean territory. Willoughby blamed the international competition, including the Navigation Acts, for colonists leaving Barbados (in addition to the lack of physical space). He suspected that they went to French and Dutch islands instead of other English colonies for better opportunities in trade.[463] In 1663, Willoughby started his aggressive plan for expansion in the Caribbean, starting with a voyage to take St. Lucia from the French, which also had a considerable Carib population at the time. He sought legitimacy from the Kalinago through diplomatic means, engaging a half-Carib, half-English broker for the conquest of the island.[464] The "sale" of the island was negotiated through Thomas "Indian" Warner, the son of Deputy Governor Thomas Warner and a Carib woman. Conveniently for Willoughby, the half-English Thomas "Indian" Warner became the Chief of the Caribs, and helped convince the other Carib leaders "Anna Watta, the Babba . . .& two others of that Nation, by the Consent & in the Behalf of all the people" to sell the island to the English.[465]

Willoughby, as the absentee royalist proprietor of a politically factious colony, needed someone with experience in espionage to report to him on his holdings in Surinam. If Aphra

---

[463] Letter of Francis Lord Willoughby, Goveror of Barbadoes to M De Laubier, Governor of Martinico, page a155, September 23, 1663, 565; Letter of Lord Willoughby to the King, a187, November 4, 1663, Barbados Archives Council Minutes 1625 to 1667, Barbados Council Minutes 1625-1667, Barbados Archives.

[464] Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance," 8.

[465] "Lords of Trade and Plantations to Lord Justice (Justification of English Ownership over Caribbean Islands)" 2 October 1719, British National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 260/3/1

Behn indeed visited that colony, it was as an agent of Willoughby from 1663-1664. [466] In Behn's narrative, she assumes the role of his daughter, perhaps a nod to him as her patron.[467] Behn's presence might be confirmed in a 1664 letter from William Byam to Sir Robert Harley, who owned but did not live at St. John's Hill plantation, the same plantation that Aphra Behn (the narrator) in stayed at in *Oroonoko*. Byam wrote, simply, that "Astrea," had left St. John's Hill, Astrea being Behn's chosen code name since the English Civil War.[468]

For the material in *Oroonoko* that takes place after Behn's departure, the author may have used the account of George Warren's *An Impartial Description of Surinam*, published in 1667, or her own connections to an intelligence community. However, the divergences in Warren and Behn's account suggest she relied on her own observations rather than her reading of Warren. For instance, scholars have debated why Behn would choose Byam, a fellow Royalist and fellow subordinate of Willoughby, as the dishonest, sadistic villain of *Oroonoko* who kept "an Indian woman, his Mistress" had she not developed a personal dislike for him during her stay. [469] Warren, on the other hand, gave a positive reference to Byam as "too much of a Gentleman to be the Author of a Lye," and Father Antoine Biet also wrote of him positively during his brief visit

---

[466] Todd, *Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, 44.

[467] "My stay was to be short in that Country [Surinam], because my father dy'd at Sea, and never arriv'd to possess the Honour was desgin'd him (which was Lieutenant-General of Six and thirty Island, besides the Continent of Surinam). . .he would never have parted so Easily with it to the Dutch." Behn, *Oroonoko*, 164.

[468] Todd*, Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, 51.Other parts of Behn's narrative in *Oroonoko* compare favorably to what is known about her biography circa 1664. For instance, Behn's narrator in *Oroonoko* discussed trading with the local Indian population for a feathered headdress, which would eventually adorn the title character in the play *The Indian Queen*. Not only are feathered clothes typical of Caribs craftwork, But Howard and Dryden's play *The Indian Queen* was indeed written and first performed in 1664. For feathers in Carib art, see Du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles Habiteés par les François*, 2: 246. For connections between Oroonoko and *The Indian Queen*, see Brown, "The Romance of Empire," 52.

[469] Behn*, Oroonoko*, 179.

to Surinam.[470] His unpopularity, if not his Indian mistress, seems corroborated by contemporary accounts. One group of Surinam planters left for Jamaica in 1662 because Byam was corrupt and heavy-handed, and Willoughby survived an assassination attempt when he finally did return to Surinam in 1664.[471]

Both Aphra Behn and George Warren were probably in Surinam before the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and their observations are on Surinam during its transition from an outpost of Barbados into a plantation society. While Willoughby was in Barbados, Surinam, now more than ever, was an important location for English colonists who wanted to regain their centrality in sugar production vis-à-vis Dutch and French sugar planters. Justin Roberts estimates that by 1661 there were 1,000 white inhabitants, excited by the prospect of their sugar being as good as Barbados's but less expensive without the export taxes. By 1663, he estimates that the population of Suriname was 1250 white colonists, 3,750 slaves, including, "perhaps a few Native slaves." In the post-war period, after the Dutch conquest, there were five hundred Indian slaves.[472] There are two possible reasons for such a discrepancy in relatively short eight-year period. The first is that Indians were captured at an unprecedented rate during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, leading to a demographic explosion in that population. The second and more likely

---

[470] Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 6; Hughes, Introduction to Antoine Biet, *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en L'Isle de Cayenne* (1664), *Versions of Blackness*, 313; idem, Introduction to Wiliam Byam*, An Exact Relation of the Most Execrable Attempts of John Allin, Committed on the Person of His Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham* (1664) *Versions of Blackness*, 315.

[471] For the assasination attempt on Willoughby, see Wiliam Byam*, An Exact Relation of the Most Execrable Attempts of John Allin, Committed on the Person of His Excellency Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham* (1665), in Versions of Blackness, Hughes (ed), 315-321. For the planters leaving for Jamaica, see Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 242. Barber, "Power in the English Caribbean," 207.

[472] "Petitie Inwoners," Inhabitants of Suriname to the Zeeland Chamber of the West Indies Company, March 11, 1671, Zeeuws Archive (Middelburg, Zeeland, the Netherlands, henceforth ZA), Staten van Zeeland (henceforth SvZ), 2035-2225. Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 234-235, 235 fn 31. Although I do argue that the Anglo-Dutch Wars represent a peak in the Indian slave trade, I follow the argument of Zijlstra's dissertation, that there were probably many more demographic continuities between English Surinam and Dutch Suriname than differences. One of these demographic continuities would have been the presence of Indian slaves.

reason is that the English had been enslaving Indians prior to the Anglo-Dutch wars, but numbering in the hundreds rather than only a few.

It is likely that Indian slaves were demanded in large numbers in English Surinam because Surinam had difficulty acquiring direct shipments of slaves. The Royal African Company's connections directed them to Barbados instead, and Surinam probably received at least some of Barbados's slave imports through inter-colonial trade.[473] This, combined with a booming colony that boasted upwards of 500 plantations in the 1660s would have left a gap between labor demands and supplies. Warren estimated that there were between forty or fifty of these plantations dedicated to sugar production, although maps from the period suggest closer to 175.[474] Warren reported that the majority of slaves had come "out of Guiny in Africa to those parts, where they are sold like Goods, and no better esteem'd but for their Work."[475] There were, indeed, a few ships that would come directly from the Guinea coast in 1664. Aphra Behn might have observed one of these deliveries, which is the reason she made her character Oroonoko character ethnically "Coromantee," a slave from Ghana.[476]

Behn's *Oroonoko* is the story of how a Coromantee prince named Oroonoko was enslaved in Africa, shipped to English Surinam, befriended the elite governing class, including governor William Byam, but was ultimately betrayed and executed at Byam's hand.[477] One of the

---

[473] Roberts, "Surrendering Suriname," 238. See also Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: the Intercolonial Slave Trade in British America 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press and the Omohundro Institute of Early America History and Culture, 2014).

[474] "Which are in all about five hundred, whereof Forty or Fifty have sugar-works, yielding no small profit to the Owners, for a slight Disbursement." Warren, *Description of Surinam,* 17. Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 236 fn 34.

[475] Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 19.

[476] Rogers, "Fact and Fiction in Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko'," 2; Dickson, "Truth, Wonder, and Exemplarity in Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko'."

most obvious fictional elements of the story seems to that no actual slave revolt occurred contemporary to Behn's visit, nor during Surinam's English period (1650-1667).[478] However, scholars have ignored the possible inspiration of the Indian War and Slave Rebellion in *Dutch* Suriname from 1678-1680, during which time Behn was clearly still engaged with Surinam, and possibly still involved in Anglo-Dutch espionage. *Oroonoko* combines elements of the very real cruelty of Surinam's slave regime and the despotic rule of William Byam, combined with a real conflict that emerged out the abuses of slaves—both African and Indian.

Aphra Behn foreshadows the Dutch takeover in a few moments of her narrative. First, when she discusses how the death of Willoughby precluded him from keeping Surinam for the English, and second, during the story of her narrator visiting an Indian town. Behn wrote that at the mouth of the river (unnamed) they found "a Fisherman . . .who had been a long Inhabitant there, and oblig'd him to go with us: But because he was known to the Indians, as trading among 'em." It took eight days for a large party to reach the "Indian Towns," locating them within Caribana rather than colonial Surinam. They were taken by "the Indian Trader whom they knew, (for 'tis by these Fishermen, call'd Indian Traders, we hold a commerce with 'em; for they [the Indians] love not to go far from home, and we [the colonists] never go to them." This fisherman/Indian trader then enabled a peaceful encounter between the English visitors and the

[477] Both Oroonoko and his wife, Imoinda, became slaves through the jealous, greedy, and treachery actions of evil-minded men, rather than a just war. This, and Oroonoko's rank, helped readers sympathize with Oroonoko's eventual rebellion as a righteous one. Plot Synopsis: Oroonoko loved the beautiful Imoinda. Oroonoko's jealous grandfather, the King, married her, but then enslaved her after learning she loved Oroonoko instead. The King considered slavery a fate worse than death for a person of elevated rank and station. For this reason, he regretted enslaving Imoinda and decided to spare Oroonoko so he might continue his military career. Oroonoko continues in battle, but runs across a ship captain that he has sold slaves to before. The ship captain invited Oroonoko and other young nobles aboard to drink and dine. Then, he clapped them in irons. Serendipitously, both Imoinda's and Oroonoko's ships sailed for Suriname. They reunited and conceived a child. Gaining freedom for both Imoinda and his child is the driving motivation for Oroonoko's maroonage and rebellion. Despite Oroonoko impressing his owner, Trefy, and the Lieutenant Governor William Byam,with his intelligence and royal breeding he could not secure freedom for his family. Oroonoko then led a group of runaway slaves into the forest, and, with them, planned to attack the plantations. His fellow runaways abandoned him, however, leading to both Oroonoko and Imoinda's deaths.

[478] Visconsi, "A Degenerate Race."

Indians, whereby both parties regarded each other with "wonder and amazement."[479] Although her Indian trader is friendly with the Indians they visit, these indepenent merchants would also become liabilities to diplomatic relationships with the Indian when trade, especially the trade for Indian slaves, went badly.

Indeed, Behn's narrator, and her companion colonists, had been afraid to go to the Indian town because of "disputes the English had with the Indians," which worsened under the Dutch "who us'd 'em not so civilly as the English, so that they cut in pieces all they cou'd take, getting into Houses, and hanging up the Mother, and all her Children about her; and cut a Footman, I left behind me, all in Joynts, and nail'd him to Trees." She overcame her apprehensions by taking Oroonoko as a bodyguard. Although Warren's *Description of Suriname* also described an occasion where the Indians "had been down, and kill'd an English Woman, and robb'd the house wherein she was" he does not connect the incident with ongoing colonial violence, rather he uses it in a discussion of the general separateness of the Caribs and the English, saying that the English would have retaliated, but they were stopped by the waterfalls.[480]

This point in her narrative tells us how colonists in Surinam might have acquired Indian slaves from Caribana. Behn's description of her narrator's visit to an Indian town shows the role of a small-time Indian trader as a cultural intermediary between the colonial and indigenous world. The fisherman was a friend to his indigenous trading partners, who greeted him warmly at his arrival. But he was also the owner of "our Indian slaves, that Row'd us, and ask'd'em [other Indians] some Questions," revealing that he commanding Indian slaves for both transportation and translation. This passage contradicts Behn's earlier assurances that the English dared not

---

[479] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 169-170.

[480] There is little known about who George Warren was and why he was compelled to write about Suriname, Hughes, *Versions of Blackness*, 331; Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 2-3.

enslave Indians, unless she is consciously re-writing the same internal contradictions that Raleigh, Keymis, and Harcourt contained in their narratives.[481] Her inconsistency, and the deviation from her supposed source material, seems more the truth of an observation rather than the repetition of a literary tradition. Whereas Behn unconsciously copied Raleigh because of her similar experiences to the voyager, Warren, who seems to have not visited an Indian town, more directly paraphrases Raleigh's description of the Indian slave trade. Raleigh and Warren both blamed the Caribs for initiating the trade, focused on women and children alone as Indian slaves, and downplayed the active role that English traders played in the exchange. Warren wrote that Indian slaves were the "the men they [Caribs] take Prisoners, they put to Death with the most barbarous Cruelties a Coward can invent for an enemy in his Power. Woman and Children they preserve for Slaves, and sell them for Trifles to the English."[482]

The relationship of English colonists towards the neighboring Caribs thus ranged from dependent, as trade and military allies, to abusive, as captive-takers and slave-holders. The colonists' mixed feelings of admiration, fear, reprehension, and condescension appear throughout the travel narratives and ethnographies of the mid-seventeenth century. Warren and Behn both expressed cautious curiosity about Surinam's indigenous population. Warren, in addition to repeating certain tropes from Raleigh, also seems to have drawn on French ethnographer Charles de Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle*.[483] Warren's short Chapter "of the Indians" in his *Description of Surinam* appears to be a summary of Rochefort's more extensive and detailed ethnographic descriptions. They both described the handsome appearance of the Indian women and their

---

[481] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 173.

[482] Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 26.

[483] As mentioned in Chapter 2, de Rochefort declard the English to be the greatest enemies of the Carib and facilitators of their enslavement. *Histoire Naturelle*, 531; Du Tertre, *Histoire Generale* II: 485-486. Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 23.

customs of painting themselves with annatto and wearing whatever "Bawbles their Service can procure from the English."[484] Most ethnographers of Carib Indians agreed that Indian wives were overworked and "like slaves to their husbands," painting them with annatto, oiling their hair, cooking, planting, and weaving hammocks.[485] Warren also repeated this trope, saying that Indian women "wait upon their husbands" like "the meannest servants amongst us are to their Masters."[486] In another deviation from Warren, Behn wrote that indigenous women to experience a "Servitude easie and respected," and noted that they are the only attendants to their husbands, "unless they take Slaves in War."[487] Behn and Warren thus acknowledged indigenous captive slavery, as well as the trade that resulted in Indian become slaves in European colonies. Behn was perhaps acknowledging the awkward, but necessary military alliances between Indians and African slaves in the 1678-1680 Indian War and Slave Rebellion when she wrote that the Indians had "a sort of Courage too Brutal to be applauded by our Black Hero [Oroonoko]; nevertheless he express'd esteem of 'em."[488]

Behn's narrative did not challenge the institution of slavery in general, but her sympathetic portrait of a noble person (Oroonoko), subjected to an especially cruel regime and abusive colonial government (Byam's Surinam), would have challenged readers to consider the legitimacy of enslavement under certain circumstances. Behn's narrative, throughout, endorsed the contemporary just-war rationale that upheld the practice of slavery in the seventeenth century. For instance, the character Oroonoko had been a military captain in Africa and made

---

[484] Warren, *Description of Surinam*; De Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle*, 438, 442, 446.

[485] Du Tertre, *Histoire Generale* I: 382-383.

[486] Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 25.

[487] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 126.

[488] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 173.

slaves of enemy combatants, which Behn sees as legitimate and in no way detracting from Oroonoko's positive attributes. Oroonoko's enslavement, however, came at the hand of a seemingly friendly and charming English ship captain, whom Oroonoko had previously "sold abundance of his slaves," making Oroonoko a sympathetic victim of an abusive system.[489] Aphra Behn, like her contemporaries, would have probably applied just-war theories to Indian slaves as well. This distinction is why, on the one hand, she could be appalled by the idea of enslaving a neighboring, friendly indigenous population, but also think nothing of having an Indian slave, acquired through trade with allied Indians, row her and translate for her.

Slavery in English Surinam was, in both Behn and George Warren's account, a shockingly brutal institution that would turn indigenous friends into enemies. Warren wrote that slaves received few allowances. They needed to use their free time to work their own provision gardens. Masters consider themselves to be doing a "great favour" to their slaves by giving them "rotten Salt-fish" or a "dead Cow or Horse."[490] Warren wrote that their ill-treatment

> "not seldome drive them to desperate attempts for the Recovery of their Liberty, endeavouring to escape, and, if like to be retaken, sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves; or if they hope of Pardon bring them again alive into their Masters power, they'l manifest their fortitude, or rather obstinancy in suffering the most exquisite tortures can be inflicted upon them, for a terrour and example to other without shrinking."

If Warren's description indeed inspired Behn's character of Oroonoko, it was through this passage, in describing the heroic "fortitude" and "obstinence" of Surinam's actual enslaved population. The fictional Oroonoko, when rallying his fellow slaves to abandon the plantations, railed against the injustice of being "sold like apes, or Monkeys, to be the Sports of Women,

---

[489] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 132-149.

[490] Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 19.

Fools and Cowards and the Support of Rouges, Runagades, that have abandon'd their own Countries for Rapin, Murders, Thefts and Villanies." With this speech, Oroonoko rallies the rest of the slaves to run away with him with the plan to "travel towards the Sea; Plant a New Colony, and Defend it by their Valour." This would be the actual plan for the slave-leader Jermes during the Indian Rebellion under the Dutch, who tried to form a maroon colony along the Para Creek (Chapter 6).[491] In Behn's *Oroonoko*, Oroonoko's slave rebellion was ultimately unsuccessful. He died through the same sort of "exquisite tortures" that Warren described, at the hands of (fictionalized) Lieutenant Governor William Byam. Oroonoko had promised to surrender if Byam could guarantee his freedom in writing, but Byam did not keep his word. He had Oroonoko whipped brutally, and pepper rubbed into his wounds. After Oroonoko escaped, only to be caught again, Byam had Oroonoko dismembered. Oroonoko endured his death while stoically smoking a pipe of tobacco.[492] Byam's broken promises echo those of the slave trader who originally captured Oroonoko, promising him friendship, but clapping him in irons instead. Behn's narrative might not have called for the abolition of slavery in general, but it certainly challenged her audience to see slavery was not simply the product of just wars, but also of deceit, trickery, avarice, and ambition.

The Anglo-Carib Alliance and Indian Slavery in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, 1665-1667

Aphra Behn had left Surinam by the time the Second Anglo-Dutch War broke out in the Caribbean. In 1665, Francis Willoughby took the opportunity of the European declaration of war to send Major John Scott with a fleet to conquer Tobago and St. Kitts from the Dutch and their

---

[491] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 176-177.

[492] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 180.

French allies. Scott was successful, although St. Kitts would change hands a number of times during the conflict. After taking those islands, Major Scott made his way towards Surinam to aid William Byam in the colony's defense, and attempt to take the Dutch settlements in Guiana. The English briefly held the Dutch Essequibo colony, making sure to conclude a peace with the "Arrowayes" (Arawaks). Byam knew that they could only usurp Dutch control over the region through these native people, the primary Dutch trade partners at that time, and he overconfidently thought that the Arawaks had accepted the English. He wrote that "This Yeare the English could boast of the Possession of all that Part of Guiana, a butting on the Atlantick Ocean, from Cayan on the South east to Oronoque on the North West."[493]

The indigenous population surrounding Essequibo was upset about the conditions of the agreement that surrendered Essequibo to the English. Perhaps the real Byam, like his character in *Oroonoko*, did not follow through on his promises to them. Soon, the Indians "withdrew all commerce from the English in the forts" and the Dutch, allied with the French, and Jewish settlers subsequently left for Martinique or St. Kitts (which had now been retaken by the French). Without the support of the Indians at Essequibo, the English surrendered the colony back to the Dutch.

Byam decided to retaliate, and attempt to rescue the remaining Englishmen at Essequibo. He sent Captain Peter Wroth to attack the Dutch and Indians at the Approwaco River with "a hondred swifts to still the Indians that greatly destroyed our colonies." Later that year, Byam sent a subordinate to relieve those Englishmen left behind. The Englishmen "stormed two warehouses of the Arwacas" killing about thirty men and taking about seventy captives. Byam's ruthless pursuit of the retreating Indian force during the Approwaco river campaign is echoed in Behn's description of how the character Byam persued Oroonoko. She wrote that he was "a fellow

[493] Scott, "Description of Guiana."

whose character is not fit to be mention'd with the worst of the Slaves. This Fellow [Byam] wou'd lead his Army forth . . . or rather to persue him; most of their Arms were of those sort of cruel Whips . . . some had rusty useless Guns for show; other old Basket-hilts, whose Blades had never seen the Light in this Age."[494] At the end of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the real Byam reported in his journal that he was terrified, waiting for "the invasion of the Arwaca Indians, who will effect such mischoice as will consequently produce the inevitable ruining of us all."[495]

Francis Willoughby died in a hurricane on his way to secure St. Kitts in 1666, leaving Surinam without its primary champion.[496] In 1667, Zeeland Admiral Crijnsens sailed with a large fleet to take Suriname from the English. Byam wrote that he relied on African and Indian slaves to row the English away safely: he took fourteen boats "in which were Christians and Jews 168 men old and young sick lame and sound, besides negroes and some Indians that paddled the boasts."[497] As they left, Byam also knew they were leaving behind their Carib allies and trade partners in the region. He most likely relied on these allies when he, along with William Willoughby, Francis's brother and the new Governor of the English Caribbean, came back to retake Surinam for nine months between 1667 and 1668.[498] He would also remember their dependence on native allies while drafting the Articles of Capitulation between himself and the conquering Admiral Crijnsens, who would become the temporary governor of Dutch Suriname.

The Carib and English wars against the Arawaks continued even after peace was concluded with the Dutch. These ongoing wars became a cover for Indian slave trading, as

---

[494] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 178.

[495] Byam, “Journal of Guiana."

[496] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 240.

[497] Byam, “Journal of Guiana."

[498] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 245.

seventeenth-century Englishmen considered slaves acquired this way to be "vanquish'd . . . nobly in Fight" and won "in Honourable Battel."[499] Captain Peter Wroth, who had successfully attacked the Dutch and their Indian allies in 1666, had been commodifying Indian war captives for sale in Barbados since then, if not before. In 1670, Wroth sold a group of slaves, including "Cirus a man Negro, hannah a woman Negro and Semo an Indian Woman."[500] Shortly after Semo's sale, in 1673, Wroth entered a depositions of his actions during the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674) where he admitted to bringing Indians from the Main (Guiana) as well: "Of the Indians, brought . . . from the Main by Capt Wroth, some are dead, but the rest shall be returned according to his majesty's [Charles II] commands, a thing designed by him before that they may keep amity with those savages, the contrary having always been very pernicious especially to the smaller Leeward Islands."[501] The Indian slave trade on Barbados had always been ethically questionable, and certainly the colonial government knew it put relationships with neighboring Indians at risk. They were compelled to appease Charles II, if only with assurances about this specific case, without actually declaring Wroth's actions to be illegal.

William Willoughby desired to continue his brother's expansion in the Caribbean. The legacies of Indian enslavement made negotiating with the island Kalinago more challenging. When he asked for peace with the Kalinago of St. Vincent in 1668, the chiefs demanded that the English return their Indian captives in exchange for their allegiance.[502] It is unlikely that these

---

[499] Behn, *Oroonoko*, 175.

[500] Sale of slaves from Peter Wroth to John Kellicott, BARB RB3/8, 46-47; May 30, 1670 (entered August 27, 1670).

[501] Sir Jonathan Atkins, Governor of Barbados to the Secretary of the Council for Plantations, February 17, 1675, Barbados Archives, Minutes of the Barbados Council, 1671-1684, 439.

[502] "Treaty concluded by y^{e} Lord Willoughby wth y^{e} Gov of y^{e} Island of St. Vincents," 23 March 1668, TNA CO 260/3, 1 (ii).

treaty conditions ever came to fruition, however, considering that these captives had most likely become the property of Barbados colonists.

The case of Thomas "Indian" Warner, who had negotiated the sale of St. Lucia in 1663, also tested the strength of new efforts to court Kalinago alliances despite legacies of Indian enslavement and animosity. Thomas "Indian" Warner was the son of Thomas Warner, who had been responsible for the massacre of Kalinago Indians on St. Kitts in 1626, and the enslavement of Indian women on the island. His son's mother was perhaps one of these enslaved Caribs.[503] In 1675, "Indian" Warner tried to negotiate another peace, this time with the Caribs of Dominica who had been raiding the English on Antigua. His half-brother, Colonel Phillip Warner, did not want any reconciliation between the English and Caribs. Phillip Warner had been sent by Governor Stapleton of the Leeward Islands to handle this conflict, and interpreted (or willfully misinterpreted) "Indian" Warner's negotiations and peace talks as defection to the Indians' side. Although some Indians of Dominica reportedly drew a flag of truce before Phillip Warner and the English party as they approached, Phillip Warner killed thirty of the Dominican Caribs.[504] Philip invited the remaining Indians, including his half brother “Indian” Warner, to conclude a treaty at his camp. Instead of making peace, however, he waited until the Indians were drunk (on the rum he provided) before signaling to his band to massacre the remaining party. Although these events describe two peoples at war, they did not exemplify contemporary understanding of just war, wherein both parties entered willingly into battle, understanding and accepting the consequences.

---

[503] "Lords of Trade and Plantations to Lord Justice (Justification of English Ownership over Caribbean Islands)" 2 October 1719, TNA CO 260/3/1.

[504] Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance," 11.

The dubiousness of Philip's claims to have conducted the massacre in service to the English Caribbean was obvious to Charles II. The King was disgusted by his actions and had him locked in the Tower of London to await trial. Phillip Warner was charged with the murder of his brother, the half-English son of the governor and chief of potential Carib allies. At his trial, Philip's defended his actions: he disowned Thomas "Indian" Warner as his brother, calling him a "family slave" from Antigua. Furthermore, he explained that killing him was not murder, but "Indian" Warner's just punishment for treason.[505] Phillip Warner was eventually pardoned, but "his majesty's displeasure" effectively ruined his professional reputation and career.[506] "Indian" Warner in all his cited roles as Carib Chief, English Diplomat, and son of a slave (and considered by his brother to be a slave as well) encapsulates the entanglements created by the legacies and continuity of Indian enslavement in the Caribbean, even in periods where Indians could not be considered prisoners of war. By the late 1670s, it was clear to the English Crown, if not supported by his Caribbean subjects, that such practices were untenable for colonial safety.

Conclusion

The cowardice and treachery of English military leaders in the Caribbean is a clear theme in Behn's *Oroonoko.* She created a narrative history of slavery in seventeenth-century Surinam that contrasted the valor and honor of indigenous and African military leaders against the

---

[505] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 79-81.

[506] In a letter from the Council Chamber on behalf of Phillip Warner, the author writes that the attack was "not only sutable to the Rules of Warr, but absolutely necessary for the preservation of Your Ma:ties subjects, who had otherwise been lyable to a general Massacre: And that, for the better evidence of the truth hereof, the Pet^{r} (petitioner), after eight months close Imprisionment in the Tower, expos'd to all the enemies hee had in the World, transported to the Island most concer'd and exasperated , and tryed by a Jury thereof alone, undergoing thereby all the Vigor of the Law, has been nevertheless declared Not Guilty; And therefore humble praying that, if wee had any sense of this condition, wee would be instrumental to restore him to Your Masties's Grace." "Report of the Commitee concerning Coll Warner," "Read by the Committee 17 May 1677 disallowed", Eg 239-568, BL.

cowardice and treachery of the English, characters that might have been sketched from the likes of William Byam or Phillip Warner. Yet, she upheld the tradition of her adventuring predecessors Raleigh, Keymis, and Harcourt, when she rejected English enslavement and maltreatment of Indians, yet participated in using Indian slaves as rowers, navigators, and interpreters herself. She showed the conflict surrounding the institution of slavery in Surinam included the indigenous context of Indian neighbors, who could either be great friends or great enemies. The Anglo-Dutch Wars in the Caribbean were not only wars between European mercantile powers, but part of a local and ongoing war between colonists, indigenous allies, indigenous enemies, and both Indian and African slaves.

Part III: Allies and Rebels
Chapter 6: Dutch Suriname: 1668-1680

Introduction

The Treaty of Breda ended the Second Anglo-Dutch War and forced the Willoughby family to give up Surinam. They did not do so easily, briefly recapturing the colony for nine months from 1667 to 1668. Before leaving, Henry Willoughby, Francis's nephew, took slaves, sugar kettles, cattle, colonists, and 150,000 pounds of sugar. [507] Henry and his father, William Willoughby, the late Francis's brother and the new governor of Barbados, also encouraged conflicts between their Carib allies and the Dutch-Arawak alliance that had just defeated them and the Caribs. The Willoughbys, while stationed on Barbados, provided manpower and military aid to the Caribs to continue hostile actions against the Dutch. The Caribs also continued to prefer trade with the Englishmen who remained, meaning that a trade language and trusting relationships between the Carib and Dutch were difficult to establish. English translators continued to control communication with the Indians on the frontier and with both African and Indian on plantations as well.[508] Historian Victor Eindhoven has emphasized that the small population of the Dutch was their fatal weakness, leading to what he refers to as "Fifteen Years of Dutch Misery on the Wild Coast."[509] However, in the preceding seventy years of colonial attempts in Guiana, it had never been the small size of European populations that damned their colonies, but rather the level of their encroachment on the surrounding indigenous population.

---

[507] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 245; Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style," 213.

[508] Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style," 202, 212.

[509] Victor Enthoven, "Suriname and Zeeland: Fifteen Years of Misery on the Wild Coast, 1667-1682," in J Everaert and J Parmentier (eds) *International Conference on Shipping, Factories and Colonization* (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer, 1996), 249-269; 252, 257, 260.

Dutch rule over Suriname was not just an affront to the Willoughby family but an imposition on the Caribs of Suriname and an unwelcomed political change for the region of Caribana.

The Dutch pushed forward with attempts to secure Carib trade while maintaining trade with their Arawak allies, hoping that their control of the region from Cayenne to New Granada would usher in an era of peace.[510] A more united front of Europeans along the coast was probably not appealing to the native populations. Carib resistance, the ongoing conflicts with evacuating the English population, the Third Anglo-Dutch War, and the Indian War from 1678-1680 revealed how fragile Suriname remained, even as a part of the larger swath of territory known as Dutch Guiana. This chapter argues that the security of Suriname was undermined by Indian slavery in two ways: first, the English, ostensibly at peace with the Dutch, continued to enslave their regional allies, the Arawak, in raids sanctioned by English colonial officials; second, the Dutch undermined their own efforts at creating peace between the Carib and Arawak by only limiting and managing the Indian slave trade rather than abolishing it all together. Eventually, the colonial government realized that their proximity to the populations they enslaved had created the unrelenting cycle of war and rebellion that hampered their colonial development. Rebellions in Berbice and Essequibo, other Dutch Guiana colonies with substantial Indian slave populations, broke out in the late 1670s as well.[511] After 1680, Dutch colonial governors finally decided to outlaw the enslavement of neighboring populations and tried to ship Indian war captives away from Surinam rather than keep them within striking distance of the populations that might avenge them.

---

[510] Buve, "Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius,"16.

[511] Kars's note the late seventeenth-century rebellions in Berbice as precursors to the 1763 Slave Revolt in Berbice (the focus of her article). In 1763, the Berbice colony, which had started to operated sugar works, had 300 Indians slaves out of 4,000- 5,000 slaves in total. She notes that, although there were a substantial number of Indian slaves, the free Indians surrounding Berbice mostly worked as slave-catchers, aiding the Dutch in tamping down on the rebellion. Kars, “Cleansing the Land," 251-253, 264.

This chapter represents a major departure from the historiography claiming that the Dutch had a "peaceful" relationship with the indigenous population of Dutch Guiana and "firm control of Surinam, Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Berbice" after their 1667 takeover.[512] Both Cornelis Goslinga's synthesis of Dutch Caribbean history and Whitehead's *Lords of the Tiger Spirit,* the most comprehensive history of Caribs in Guiana, ignored the connection between the five hundred Indian slaves who labored in Dutch Suriname and the subsequent Indian War and Rebellion. Whitehead uses John Gabriel Stedman's *The Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes* (1796) to conclude that Indian slavery had been a limited, inconsequential practice in Suriname, with Indian slaves "only for show and parade" because they "absolutely refuse to work, and if at all ill-treated, or especially if beaten, they pine and languish like caged turtles, even refusing food, till by affliction and want they are exhausted, and finally expire." [513] Not only is this source from a much later period, but Stedman was clearly paraphrasing (with his own literary flourishes) du Tertre and de Rochefort (see Chapter 2).[514] Consequently, we may suspect that Stedman based his description of Indian slaves on other ethnographic accounts rather than his own observations. I also challenge Whitehead's assertion that Indian slavery increased in Dutch Guiana from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century because of an increase in annatto production.[515] I argue instead that Indian resistance to trade

---

[512] Goslinga, *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam*, 95.

[513] Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 151, 189-190, 220 endnote 3 (Stedmen quote). I gather from Whitehead's footnnotes that he was not able to read seventeenth-century Dutch script, as most of his Dutch sources are from the eighteenth century. Meuwese uses Whiteheads *Lords of the Tiger Spirit* to supplement the focal points of his original research on Brazil, Angola-Kongo, New Netherland, and the Gold Coast of Africa. Meuwese's general conclusion that the Dutch "consciously sought to treat Native peoples with respect and friendship" thus does not take into account either the substantial enslavement of native people in Dutch Suriname, nor the 1678-1680 Indian war. Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 10-13.

[514] Du Tertre, *Histoire générale*, 2:485-86; de Rochefort,"*Historie Naturelle*, 455-456.

[515] Whitehead*, Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 160-161.

succeeded in reducing the absolute numbers of Indian slaves, following perhaps a peak period in the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Dutch War. This is confirmed in the limited demographic data on Indian slavery from the seventeenth century, consisting of two data points from Suriname in 1671 and 1684. We may safely attribute this to Indians refusals, and not a waning demand, because the total number of slaves in Suriname increased in this same time period, and colonists were desperate for more of them. [516]

Furthermore, the assertions of both Goslinga and Whitehead ignored the work that Raymond Buve produced in the 1960s, linking Dutch abuses of Indian slave traders to Indian rebellion.[517] More recent histories from Lodewijk Hulsman, Suze Zijlstra, and Alison Games have revisited this literature and pointed out the ruptures in indigenous alliances created by the Second Anglo-Dutch War and the Dutch takeover. Zijlstra innovatively notes the strength of demographic continuities between English and Dutch Suriname, while charting the escalating tension between the new Dutch government, the enslaved population of Suriname, and various free indigenous groups (identified as both Arawak and Carib).[518] This chapter will extend Buve's conclusions about the abuses of the Indian slave trade to consider how the resulting conflicts led to more government limits on the trade and fewer Indian slaves in general. Instead of abolishing

---

[516] "Petitie Inwoners," Inhabitants of Suriname to the Zeeland Chamber of the West Indies Company, 11 March 1671, ZA, SvZ 2035-225; "Hoofd En Achtergeld Schuldig," 1684, The National Archives of the Netherlands (henceforth haNA) Sociëtiet van Suriname (henceforth SvS) 1.05.03-213 fol 203-242.

[517] Raymond Buve, "De Positie van de Indianen in de Surinaamse Plantagekolonie gedurende de 17e en de 18e Eeuw: een poging tot sociaal-historische studie." Masters, Universiteit van Leiden, 1960; Raymond Buve, "Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius: de rol van van aerssen's voorganger in de surinaamse indianenoorlog, 1678-1680." *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 45, no. 1 (1966): 14–26. I thank Suze Zijlstra for bringing my attention to Buve's research so I did not remain ignorant myself.

[518] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia"; Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style"; Suze Zijlstra "Anglo-Dutch Suriname."

Indian slavery all together, this increase in regulation reinforced Indian slavery as an officially-sanctioned institution in Dutch Suriname.

The Articles of Capitulation and the Caribs

Despite a series of provisions made in the Articles of Capitulation drawn up between the English Lieutenant Governor, Colonel William Byam, and the Fleet Commander of the WIC, Abraham Crijnsens, many English colonists eventually departed. The significant concessions made in Suriname after the Second Anglo-Dutch War reflected the larger concessions that the Netherlands made to England to conclude the Peace of Breda (namely, New Netherland/New York). It was in Dutch leaders' best interest to encourage English inhabitants to stay, particularly if they were planters who could export sugar for the Dutch. The articles of capitulation promised the English could have privileges equal to the Dutch colonists if they remained, including electing their own ministers and keeping all their property. But if they left the colony, they would be deemed absentee landlords, and the Dutch could confiscate their property.[519] Even with such inducements to stay, many of the wealthier and well-connected English planters decided to take their households and capital elsewhere, leaving only 175 total plantations in 1667.[520] The English remained a majority in the colony until 1671, however, and they found great economic and social mobility under the Dutch, who were in desperate need of their skills.[521]

Despite local integration of the English and Dutch communities, the Second Anglo-Dutch War disrupted the older order of inter-imperial Anglo-Dutch trade. Both English and Dutch colonists feared this loss would lead to their loss of the Indian trade as well. The Articles of

[519] "Articles Concluded upon between Commander Abraham Crynsens, Admirall of a Squadron of shipps belonging unto the noble and mighty Lords the States of Zealand and Collonell William Byam late Lieutent Generall of Guyana, and Governour of WilloughbyLand," 6 March 1667, TNA, CO 278/2/1-3.

[520] Enthoven, “Suriname and Zeeland," 256, 257.

[521] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 46.

Capitulation (Crijnsens only accepted them after Byam and the English colonists had re-drafted them four times) reflect this anxiety. The English were eager to maintain their relationship with the Caribs, and the Dutch were (somewhat unrealistically) hoping the Caribs would accept them as suitable substitutes. Article 6 stated that the English would still have "the Liberty of Fishing and Turtleing upon the Bays as before, and to trade with the Indians is permitted provided they have permission from the Governour"; Article 8 demanded simply "That wee [the English] shall be furnished with Indian trade"; and article 11 demanded that "the Charibees our Neighbours shall bee used civilly, and that care shall be taken that Wee and our Estates shall not be endammaged by the Dutch, French and other Indian nations." They did not trust that the Dutch would fully protect them from the Arawak, however, since the English negotiated that each family should be able to keep as many arms as to "Keep his Negores in Awe and to defend themselves against the Indians."[522] Dutch control of Suriname was negotiated with the indigenous population of Caribana in mind, but not with their actual participation or ratification. Consequently, the dangers of colonial-indigenous violence still lingered after the peace between the two European nations, and their respective Indian allies, had concluded.

Admiral Crijnsens and his successor as Governor of Suriname, Julius Lichtenberg, wanted to make it difficult for the English colonists to leave Suriname. They created some difficult stipulations within the broad framework of the Articles of Capitulation. The original Article 18 of the capitulation stated that English inhabitants who wished to leave would not be detained because of debts incurred "before the date of these Articles." If the English remained debt-free after the Articles, they were free to "transport themselves with their slaves and Goods."

---

[522] "Articles Concluded upon between Commander Abraham Crynsens . . .and Collonell William Byam," 6 March 1667, TNA CO 278/2/1-3.

The Dutch were clearly trying to prevent the English from taking away precious resources from their colony, especially at a time of disrupted trade. In that spirit, they added that no slaves could be transported away from the colony if they had been purchased after the capitulation, whether they were purchased on credit or not.[523] The capture of Arawaks as slaves became one way that the English flouted these stipulations, as the English never really considered a "peace" to have been concluded with them.

Nedham's War and Indian Slave Raids

Despite the Dutch commander's pledge to use the English allies, the Caribs, "civilly," the English had no such plans to reciprocate with civility towards the Arawaks. In 1668, only a year after the conquering Admiral Crijnsens and the former English Governor Byam drafted the Articles of Capitulation, the Dutch caught a band of twenty English soldiers from Barbados led by Sergeant Major William Nedham near Suriname. Nedham carried a series of papers, including two sets of instructions from Christopher Codrington, Captain General of the English Leeward Islands. [524] One set of instructions, to be shown to Dutch authorities, repeated the language of the Capitulation, stating that the band of soldiers simply sought to continue trading with Indians along the coast. In these instructions, Codrington ordered Nedham to "fall in with the cost what riveres you go into you are to treate the natives with all sevility and if possible to youse meanes to gaine a trade and commerce with them for ye cottenige [cutting] of timber and if obeyed to make what possible speade you can for ye Barbados againe." If things went well, they were encouraged to travel further along the coast to the Amazon river to trade with the

[523] "Articles Concluded upon between Commander Abraham Crynsens . . .and Collonell William Byam," 6 March 1667, TNA CO 278/2/1-3.

[524] "Op den Junij 1668 alhier van Barbados is gearriveert den Major Willem Nedham, met het Jacht de twee broeder gemant met twintig eeters [?]; "Examinatie van majoor Nedham met zijn volk," no. 5, ZA, SvZ, 2035.1-33, 34

Portuguese. However, they were permitted to use force in case "the Indians they should abuse you and resist you."[525] This set of instructions gave Major William Nedham permission to engage defensively with the coastal Indians. The second, secret set of instructions made their goals along the Guiana coast much clearer: William Willoughby appointed William Nedham to " wage war with all the Indians on the Wild Coast, the Carib nation only excepting," giving Nedham permission to kill and destroy whomever necessary and promising higher offices in return for following these orders.[526]

Upon investigation by the Dutch authorities, Captain Nedham first offered an explanation that aligned with the Articles of Capitulation: the group of Englishmen wanted to trade and hunt for turtles and manatees. Upon further questioning, however, Nedham gave up the letter from Willoughby. Crijnsens recognized it as a ruse to continue waging war against the Dutch as well. An English war against the Arawaks would necessarily involve the Dutch and put their colony at risk. Crijnsens wrote to Willoughby, diplomatically but firmly implying that he suspected Willoughby of not only warmongering, but also of encouraging Indian enslavement. Crijnsens wrote that while they were interrogating Nedham and his men, *another* English ship had just been spotted capturing an entire family of Arawaks with the help of Carib allies.[527]

Willoughby fervently denied knowing about this slave raid but continued to justify his orders to attack the Arawaks. He wrote, defensively and sharply:

> "I shall justify the giving of Commissions against the Arwacas, and to take any of that nation, who are enemies to us, supposing 'tis you, not they that are comprehended in that happy peace. Nor doe I believe you can so farre mistake, as to imagine that by possessing Suranam, you are become Lords of the whole

---

[525] Christopher Codrington to William Neadham, "Intructions for Sar[t] Major William Neadham for this present voyage" Barbados 6 May 1668, ZA, SvZ, 2035.1-025.

[526] "Copie Commissie van den Majoor Nedham, N1," Barbados 1 May 1668, ZA, SvZ 2035.1-027

[527] "Examinatie van Majoor Nedham met zijn volck" Suriname 19 June 1668. ZA, SvZ 2035.1-033.

> mayne Land of America; or that all those Barbarous nations, are thereby made your subjects, and maybe protected by you from our Just revenge of the Injuries they have done us."[528]

Crijnsen responded by sending the captured English soldiers to the Netherlands for trial, charged with undermining the Peace of Breda.[529] Alison Games has written about Nedham's affair in the context of the English surrender of Surinam, considering Nedham to be a potential leader of an English revolt and the war against the Arawaks as mostly pretext to agitate the remaining English settlers.[530] Although this may be true, it seems dismissive of the long-standing conflicts between the English and the Arawak. Nedham's war would have helped to reinforce the Anglo-Carib alliance, so coveted at this stage in the Caribbean, as much as it would have hurt the Arawak-Dutch alliance. It seems doubtful that this particular conflict, aimed at the Arawak, would have convinced any more Englishmen to leave Suriname.

The English Evacuation, Indian Allies and Servants

The English Crown sent Major James Bannister to Suriname in 1670 to fetch the English and from there "sett sayle for Barbados, St. Christopher or any other of the Leeward Islands of the Caribees, or for Jamaica, and suffer such of our People (their servants and goods) as shall desire it to goe on Shoare."[531] Governor Lichtenberg issued a notification that Dutch creditors

---

[528] "As to the persons who mention that tooke away five Indians from the river of Marrawijn, I know nothing of them. If I understand he hath done anything contrary to the articles of peace [the Peace of Breda], if hee come within my power, doubt not of Justice" "Letter from William Willoughby to Abraham Crijsens" 15 August 1668, ZA, SvZ 2035.1-093.

[529] "Instructions for Srgt Major William Neadham for this Present Voyage," Barbados 6 May 1668, ZA, SvZ, 2035.1-025. "Copie—Commissie van den Majoor Nedham, N1" Copy made in Suriname from the Original, written in Barbados, 1 May 1668, ZA, SvZ 2035.1-027.

[530] Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style," 216.

[531] Commander Arlington to Major Bannister, Capt. Francis Yates, Henry Ayler, "Instructions for our Trustie and well beloved Major James Bannister, etc" 6 November 1670, TNA CO 278/2/32.

should not be obliged to accept payment from the English except in sugar, specklewood, or money, which was a particularly stringent stipulation for a species-poor colonial economy, especially one that had recently suffered from work stoppages due to war. Lichtenburg required that any English inhabitant who wanted to leave would have 10 days to inform the governor of their departure. While they could take whatever "moveable property and slaves" they had with them, they were not allowed to destroy any of their immovable property or burn any sugar fields, suggesting that Lichtenburg no longer considered it private property, but property useful to the Dutch. Bannister, of course, responded in protest that these were unreasonable demands and neither in the spirit of the Articles of Capitulation nor the Treaty of Breda.[532]

Bannister was sequestered to his own plantation up river and guarded by Dutch soldiers so he could not communicate with any settlers. He wrote furiously to Lichtenberg that his ordinances made it impossible for English men, especially poor ones, to leave. Lichtenberg responded that Bannister was only frustrated that things weren't going his way: "I doe take your said Letter only to proceed from too much inflamed Passion which may be was kindled because some things here doe not succeed according to your imaginations."[533]

Embittered, Bannister wrote to King Charles II that Lichtenberg's actions only turned English "hearts against him," although not as many English actually left the colony. After the evacuation, many Englishmen stayed in Suriname because their skills were now ever rarer and more highly-valued because of their relative experience in sugar planting, carpentry, cooperage, and translators for both indigenous and slave populations.[534] Bannister left Suriname in 1671

---

[532] "A Narrative of the Proceedings of Major Banister in the Busyness of Surynam," James Bannister to the Council of Plantations, 24 January 1671, TNA CO 278/2/33.

[533] "Narrative of the Proceedings of Major Banister in the Busyness of Surynam," TNA, CO 278/2/33-44.

[534] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 43-46.

with only two full ships, one of which went to Barbados, and the other sailed with him to Jamaica. With the loss of English Surinam, Charles II turned away from the fiery Willoughby family and was eager to turn Jamaica into the next great sugar-producing colony in the English Caribbean.[535] Charles II was not eager to give up indigenous allies in the region, however, and Bannister appreciated the value of these alliances as well. Bannister sent a number of gifts to Charles along with his letter. He apologized for the shortcomings in his commission with "two Indian Swords, three Indian Lances, which they doe mortally payson at their going to warres, and one Indian Bow to dart Arrowes which those Natives have made without the helpe of any Iron toole. The only Instruments they have or ever knew are Hares teeth, and sharpe Stones, and such like as meere Nature hath produced and furnished them with, (being altogether ignorant of any other manner of workeing)" along with a snakeskin and a scarlet bird.[536] Bannisters language denigrated the Carib as uncivilized, but his choice to use Indian symbols of war and diplomacy betray the importance of indigenous allies in the region. Bannister considered it important to communicate that the military backing of the Carib persisted, despite the English leaving.

Although the alliances between the English and Carib, and Dutch and Arawak, remained unchanged, the Dutch were busy remaking Suriname in their own image. The Dutch transformed Fort Willoughby, on the mouth of the Surinam River, into Fort Zeelandia. Comfortably stationed in Europe, the English ambassador William Temple and the Dutch statesman Jan de Witt debated whether the Netherlands' victory over the colony along the Surinam River constituted sovereignty over the nearby rivers of the Saramacca, Marowijne, Mapanny, and Commewijne. By 1671, the Dutch had begun to garrison the Marowijne, Saramacca, and Corantijn rivers

---

[535] Roberts, "Surrendering Suriname," 248.

[536] "Major Banisters Letter to his Ma:[ty] from Jamaica," 8 April 1671, TNA, CO, 278/2/57-58.

surrounding Suriname. They relied on their Indian allies, Waraos in addition to Arawaks, to warn them when foreign ships approached so they could direct troops appropriately.[537] Given the recent experience of Nedham's war, such warnings would be mutually beneficial for the Dutch and their indigenous allies to avoid slave raids by English ships.

Trade between the indigenous and colonial communities was much more beneficial for the Dutch than the indigenous population after the Second Anglo-Dutch War. The supply lines in and out of Suriname were temporarily cut through the Anglo-Dutch War. The English Royal Africa Company had once supplied the region with slaves, but they were bankrupt after the Second Anglo-Dutch War and wouldn't have prioritized the Dutch colony anyway. The English in Surinam had previously received other supplies, including meat and other staples, from Virginia and New England.[538] The war ruptured the trade ties between Suriname and Anglo-North America (albeit temporarily) as well. By 1670, the Dutch colonists lacked food. Governor Lichtenberg begged Zeeland to send supply ships. In the meantime, the Suriname colonists depended on the surrounding Indians for fish and manatee meat.[539] In return for supplying the Dutch with trade, the Caribs wanted a privileged relationship with the colonists, like they had had under the English, where they would be protected from retaliation for trading in Arawaks, Waro and Trio captives.[540] The Dutch could avoid starvation, but it would necessitate betraying

---

[537] "Brief van gouverneur Versterre aan Gecommitteerde Raden van Zeeland," 1 August 1671, ZA, SvZ, 2035.1-233.

[538] "Of Flesh and Fish they receive constant supplies from New-England, Virginia, and other places, thought the Woods and Rivers are not unfurnish'd of sufficient quantities," Warren, *Description of Surinam*, 8.

[539] Letter from Governor Lichtenbergh to the Council of Zeeland, 8 February 1670, in *Indianen in Zeeuwse Bronnen: Brieven over indianen in Suriname tijdens het Zeeuwse bewind gedurende de periode 1667-1682*, ed. E.F. Molendijk-Dijk et al (Paramaribo, Suriname: Stichting, 1992), 5.

[540] Buve, "De Positie van de Indianen," 20.

the trust of these allies. They had not only failed to make peace between the Carib and Arawak, they were cornered into a dynamic that would perpetuate the violence between these groups.

The Labor Roles and Supply Lines of Indian Slaves in Suriname

The materialistic concerns of the sugar planters suggest that the Indian slaves were an invaluable part of sugar production. In 1671, fourty-seven plantation owners petitioned the Zeeland council for more horses, slaves, and colonists. They wrote that "the total of the negroes is around twenty-five hundred, and of the Indian slaves around five hundred, together around three thousand slaves." Although the specific tasks these Indian slaves performed were not mentioned (neither were the tasks of the other slaves), both groups are included in their general accounting of the status of the "52 plantations fit with good sugar works" that these planters ran. The planters assured the council that their plantations were a good investment, writing that "there is a very good sugar harvest in the field and if there is nothing wrong with the horses, of which there are a great lack, to turn the mills, there is a good crop coming of sixty times one hundred thousand weight of sugar to mill." Given Dutch metropolitan anxiety over Indian slaves, these planters, revealing these large numbers of Indians employed, were perhaps revealing an otherwise shameful reliance on Indian slaves in order to demonstrate their desperation for more shipment of African slaves from the WIC.[541]

---

[541] As another matter of labor shortages (and security), the inhabitants further complained about the dwindling population of "blancke menschen" (white people), especially when the English left with Major Bannister's commission. "Versoekschrift van 47 inwoners," Inhabitants of Suriname to council of Zeeland, 11 March 1671, ZA, SvZ, 2035.1-225; original consulted; transcription used is from *Indianen in Zeeuwse Bronnen,* 6-7. "Om UEdMo. dan in 't korte te onderrecten van den tegenwoordigen staedt van deze colonie: boven een groot getal van mindere platagien voorzien met goede suyckerwercken, het getal van de negros is ontrent vijffentwintighhondert, ende van de indiaensse slaeven onrent vijffhondert, 't samen drieduysent slaeven. Daer staet een eer schoone suyckerooghst te velde ende indien het niet en manqueert aen peerden, waervan hier groot gebreck is, o de meulens te trecken, zoo staet hier de komende krop- ofte suyckerooghst over de 't sestigh mael hondert-duysent wegens suycker gemaelen te werden."

In addition to providing manual labor, indigenous peoples' knowledge of waterways, boating technology, and hunting techniques made them useful slaves for other tasks as well. As I've discussed in previous chapters, these seem to be labor roles for Indian slaves that colonial proponents seemed most comfortable discussing. In 1675, Secretary Nicholas Combe tried to emphasize that the use of Indian slaves was limited to these specialized functions as hunters, fishers, and water navigators ("pour la service de la chass, pesche, et naviger sur la rivier en des boots.").[542] Combe himself did not own any Indian slaves, nor did many people who lived near him in the administrative center of Paramaribo (there were perhaps 30 slaves in that district).[543] It is unlikely, however, that he was completely ignorant of the five hundred Indian slaves laboring in Suriname's sugar plantations. It is also unlikely that all five hundred of these slaves were fully occupied in hunting and fishing, as Combe suggests. Even if food was scarce in Dutch Suriname's post-war economy, so was general labor, and Indians probably served the colony in the same plethora of roles as African slaves. Most likely, Combe may have been tailoring his account of the colony to avoid rebuke from the States of Zeeland, knowing that even if they operated independently of the WIC, colonists in Dutch Brazil had received multiple warnings against enslaving Indians on sugar plantations and salt mines, and the States of Zeeland wouldn't have encouraged it either. [544]

Indian slavery was pervasive in Dutch Guiana, both in the households and plantations of Suriname and in the outposts of the WIC. The rivers of Caribana hosted a series of forts that the

---

[542] "Brief Nicholas Combe", 1 May 1675, ZA, SvZ, 2035-255.

[543] As late as 1684, after the African slave trade had picked up again, there were only 36 slaves, including four Indian slaves, in the Paramaribo distict. Given the general trends in slavery, I assume there had not been more than this in the previous decade, and this might even be an over-estimate. "Hoofd-en-Akkergeld Schuldig," 31 December 1684, Na-NL 1.05.03-213, fol. 219.

[544] Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,* 160.

Company operated. Here, they employed Indians in similar ways to the first colonial outposts in Guiana of the late sixteenth-century. They were trade intermediaries, translators, food provisioners, and especially, navigators who rowed along the rivers that created indigenous trade networks. These forts and trading posts have been the main focus of Whitehead and Buve's investigation of Indian slavery in Guiana because these forts were major sites of conflicts between free indigenous traders (including middlemen in the Indian slave trade). WIC - employed men called *Uitliggers* manned these stations and solicited local Indians to come regularly with forest products, like annatto dye and specklewood, to trade for manufactured items: axes, machetes, and sometimes, guns. The transition from English to Dutch control over Guiana might have contributed to the new focus on annatto dye as an export product, which was not cultivated under the English and might have required prodding Caribs into different work than they were accustomed to.[545]

Even though WIC forts employed Indian slaves, another group of traders, called *swervers* or *bokkenruylers,* who worked outside of official WIC forts, were more likely to deal with the actual purchase and acquisition of captives (bokje, or "little bucks" or "little goats" was a pejorative term used for Indians, so "bokkenruyler" means "Indian trader").[546] Although these traders also operated independently, going up and down the rivers and creeks of Guiana like the English fisherman described by Aphra Behn, it does not seem that they were able to cultivate the

---

[545] Whitehead suppossed that for the Essequibo colony, Indian slaves produced annatto constituted 16% of exports in 1742, approximately 335 tons of Amerindian-produced annatto was exported from Essequibo between 1700-1742; he suggests that the increase in exports correlated with an increase in the absolute numbers of Indian slaves in the eighteenth century. However, he provides no starting point (does not use the "petitie inwoners") and thus cannot prove this hypothesis. I disagree with his assessment that an increase in annatto production led to an incrase in Indian slavery because many free Indians participated in annatto productin and trade as well. Whitehead also did not use documentation from Suriname, so does not consider trends in Indians as plantation or sugar workers. *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, 161.

[546] Van den Bel, Hulsman, Wagenaar, "Historical Context of *American Voyages,*" 65.

warm and familiar reception among the Caribs that she described during the trip with her fisherman. Under the Dutch, swervers and bokkenruylers resorted to using alcohol, either selling it irresponsibly or plying Indians with it before negotiating for their desired trade goods. This built up resentment in the indigenous community. The desperation of the bokkenruylers may have been the result of their deep indebtedness. Since these traders were unaffiliated with official WIC posts, they needed to buy European goods at a higher price than WIC agents or on credit from colonial merchants. Their ability to turn a profit depended on their ability to turn over their merchandise quickly to plantation owners. Despite the general distrust of the Caribs towards the new *bokkenruyler*s as trade partners, the Caribs' ongoing wars with their neighboring Arawak, Waro, and Trio tribes created captives, and the *bokkenruylers* encouraged the Caribs to offload these captives in the general direction of the coast.[547]

In April 1672, Governor Peter Versterre (appointed interim governor in 1671) wrote that he was fielding "many problems and questions [that] arise on a daily basis about the trade of the Indian slaves along the coast." Experiencing, and probably anticipating, future droughts in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Versterre enacted an ordinance that clarified and codified, but in no way prevented or minimized, the trade in Indian slaves. Versterre wrote that in response to concerns about the trade, he "concluded, upon serious consideration, as we consent [with this ordinance] that the final buyer of the slave or the slaves, who bring them up on this river, shall be the buyer [koper], and the slave or slaves his property."[548] We can only guess from these

---

[547] Buve, “De Positie van de Indianen,"12.

[548] "doende te weten alsoo wij sien dat dagelijcx veel moeyten ende questien comen te ontstaen in 't handelen van de indiaensche slaeven langs de cust. Soo hebben wij met rijppe deliberatie goedgevonden, gelijck wij sien goetvindende bij desen dat den laesten kooper van de slaeff ofte slaven die deselve opbrenght in dese riviere sal kooper wesen en e slaeff ofte slaeven sijn eygendom." Plakaat 48, Handel in Indiaanse Slaven, 8 April 1672. *West Indisch Plakaateboek: Plakaten, ordonnantiën en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname: Deel I, 1667-1761*. J.A. Schiltkamp and Dr. J.Th. de Smidt, eds (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973) 70-71.

conclusions what the actual "problems and questions" were: Suriname's colonists might have anticipated that trans-Atlantic trade would continue at a lull, and shortages of slaves would continue. They may have wondered whether, during a time of cut supply lines, the WIC's monopoly on the slave trade would still be in effect, and if trading in Indian slaves was a violation of the WIC's privilege. They might have wondered if Indian slaves would be treated and protected as property, just as their slaves from Africa, or if they warranted a special legal status. To the last question, Versterre's answer was clear: Indian slaves were property, just as African slaves were. The Dutch colonial government of Suriname had already accepted a fatally-flawed bargain of accepting Arawak and Warao captives from Carib middlemen. Now, they dug themselves deeper, giving colonists more power and control over a population that would have better been considered slaves, or at least "servants," as under previous generations of Dutch and English colonists in Guiana.

Evacuation and Enslavement after the Third Anglo-Dutch War

The indecisions about whether Indians should be treated as potential subjects or potential slaves reached a crisis point after the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674). Many of the same conflicts between English and Dutch settlers continued throughout this conflict, particularly the question of whether the English settlers who remained were loyal to the new Dutch colonial government. During this conflict, France joined England against the Dutch Republic, making Suriname even more vulnerable in Guiana. The Dutch now had tense relations with all of their neighbors in the region, both indigenous and European. The Anglo-Franco alliance more thoroughly cut off the Dutch from trade. The English threatened the Dutch slave trade with increased competition, granting the resurrected Royal African Company a monopoly in 1672,

after years of unpredictable trade and then bankruptcy after the Second Anglo-Dutch War.[549] In the short run, the monopoly drove up prices for African slaves, which Elaine Breslaw has posited raised the demand for Indian slaves.[550]

Suriname's lack of supplies led to crippling inflation within the colony. The Dutch feared that an attack, from any possible source, was imminent. They sent their slaves from the sugar fields to guard the forts, halting production on one of the few products that made Suriname valuable land in the first place. The slaves were mostly commandeered from English planters, who had already received significant pressure from Byam to leave. The Dutch placed the English under house arrest to make sure that they didn't join the English in any invasion attempt. With their masters locked up, the slaves that weren't under Dutch command at the forts rebelled and killed one Englishman. Despite needing help to suppress the rebellion, the Dutch kept the remainder of Englishmen imprisoned.[551]

During the Third Anglo-Dutch War, the Dutch were just as guilty as the English during "Nedham's War" of using lingering conflicts and individual skirmishes as an excuse to capture indigenous people as slaves. On June 7th, 1673, Dutch commander Cornelis Evertsen brought the frigate *Amerika* to Curaçao with 206 slaves. Curaçao had become a central distribution point for the Dutch slave trade in the Atlantic (and the slave trade of other nations as well) by the 1670s.[552] Forty-six of these slaves (about 22%) were Indians. Their origins are unknown, but English alliances between Barbados and the Island Carib had strengthened after the treaties with St. Lucia (1663) and St. Vincents (1668), and these were the Indians that Anglo-Barbadians were

[549] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 251; Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 73.

[550] Breslaw, *Tituba,* 10.

[551] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 148; Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style," 226-227.

[552] Victor Enthoven, "The Islands at the Center of the Atlantic World: the early presence of the Dutch in the West Indies," *De Halve Maen* 78 no 4 (Winter 2005): 67-68.

most likely to recruit for attacks against Dutch Guiana. Whether they were island or coastal Carib, or of another nation, these enslaved Indians were most likely seen as either allies, or potential allies, of the English.[553]

Two months after the *Amerika* docked at Curaçao, an English resident of Suriname reported to the Barbados Council that "there is great hatred between the Caribbee Indians and the Dutch." His reasons for this animosity are not given, but we may suspect conflicts in trade and indiscriminate Indian slavery a likely cause. The English resident wanted to convince the Barbados council that the Third Anglo-Dutch War would be a good opportunity for the English to retake Suriname. The English had not enjoyed a majority status since 1671, when James Bannister's commission took two ships of their countrymen away. In light of their imprisonment and the subsequent slave uprising, there were few inducements to stay in Suriname.[554] The Barbados council mused that about 800 well-armed men could probably take the colony back, but they decided against invasion. Indigenous politics were foremost in their consideration, followed by suspicions of the remaining English and slave populations. The Barbados council could not "foresee what assistance the Dutch may have from the Arawaca Indians, their friends their own negroes, or the meaner sort of English planters."[555] The success of the Dutch-Arawak alliance, which had helped the Dutch win Suriname originally, was still strong enough to repel them, even as relations between the Dutch and Caribs deteriorated. The French also decided not

---

[553] "Slavenverkoop fregat "America" te Curacaso" 7 June 1673, Zeeuws Archief, Staten van Zeeland, transcription by Philip Dikland, *Zeeuwse archivalia uit Suriname en omliggende kwartieren 1667-1683*, available online in PDF < *files.archieven.nl/239/f/GIDS102/2035-transcripties.pdf*> page 193-194; note: transcriptions are not authoritative nor complete for the 2035 collection; I have used my own transcriptions of original documents unless otherwise noted; although the transcriptions available here provide an excellent first-glance for those interested in the collection.

[554] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 46.

[555] Minutes of the Council and Assemble of Barbados, vol II (May 1671-1684), August 14 1673, p 151-153, Barbados Archives.

to attack. Louis XIV had hesitated to risk his fragile Caribbean possessions, including ones near the Cayenne River in Guiana. The war ended in 1674.

Although the Barbados council doubted the loyalties of the "meaner sort of English planters," by the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, many more English residents of Dutch Suriname were ready to leave.[556] A new English commission was formed to take colonists away from Suriname, the 1674 Treaty of Westminster that ended the Third Anglo-Dutch War renewed the promises of the original Article of Capitulation, that English colonists could leave peaceably. The English desired to take their three hundred countrymen still living there, along with their estimated "11 or 12 hundred Negroes," which constituted more than one third of the entire slave population of Suriname.[557] In 1675, English Commissioners Cranfield, Bickinson, and Brandt joined Major Bannister's ship in Suriname to evacuate the colonists and take them to Jamaica.

The Carib challenge to Dutch authority loomed over Governor Pieter Versterre. During his tenure, Versterre was infamously corrupt; he collected salaries of dead soldiers as his own, and neglected to pay tax on his own sugar exports.[558] As Versterre was more interested in personal profits than the good of the colony in his charge, the English found him easier to manipulate than either of the previous governors, Admiral Crijnsens or Julius Lichtenburg. The Treaty of Westminster provided that "his majesty's subjects" were permitted, after "having discharged their debts, Liberty to embarque themselves & families together with their negroes slaves and all goods . . .."[559] The treaty stated nothing explicitly about Jewish people, or indigenous people who may have been enslaved or attached to English colonists in some

---

[556] Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style," 227.

[557] "Letter Council of Trade and Plantations to His Majesty," 27 Oct 1674, TNA CO 278/2/67.

[558] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 38.

[559] "Letter Council of Trade and Plantations to His Majesty," 27 Oct 1674, TNA CO 278/2/67.

manner.[560] This ambiguity led to a debate between the Dutch and the English about the status of a number of Indians on board these ships and the extent to which the Dutch had control over, or could govern, Suriname's indigenous population.

In 1675, as the English commissioners began to depart with English colonists, Versterre received complaints from the local indigenous population. He wrote to the Zeeland chamber that "some free Indians or the indigenous of this land came to me and complained that around thirty free Indians of their friends who were on board the English ship, and that the English had persuaded and wanted to carry them off."[561] Versterre ordered an examination of the remaining ships, and asked the English to respond to these accusations. The English claimed that the Indians who traveled with the English were domestic servants who *chose* to leave with their masters. The English commissioners smugly suggested that the free Indians were "very willing to goe along with their wives and children." [562] The Indians who complained to Versterre about their missing countrymen gave a different account however; they said that the indigenous people who went on these ships had not understood what the English were saying to them when they beckoned them. Unfortunately, by the time Versterre heard they complaint, the thirty Indians in question were already gone.[563] It is likely that they were on board the *Henry and Sarah,* which contained 120 "negroes" and 31 "Indians" when it arrived in Jamaica. Jamaica's Governor

---

[560] Games writes that Jews were not considered 'his majesty's subjects' except for one named Aaron da Silva, who had been natrualized by parliament. The Dutch permitted Da Silva to send thirty-three of his slaves to Jamaica. Because many Jews remained, they became a large minority (about one-third) of Suriname's population. Games, "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style," 230-231, 241.

[561] "eenige vrije indiaenen ofte naturellen van dit landt bij mijn gecomen en claegen day ontrent de dartich vrije indiaenen van haere vrunden aen het boordt van de engelshe scheepen waeren" "Brief Pieter Versterre to the Staten van Zeeland" 16 December 1675, ZA, SVZ, 2035.1-271; transcription from Dikland, *Zeeuews Archivalia uit Suiname*.

[562] "English Commission to Pieter Versterre", ZA, SvZ, 2035.2-273.

[563] ZA, SvZ, 24 August 1675, 2035.2-277.

Vaughn reported that 1100-1200 people total came to Jamaica from Suriname, which included 250 colonists and 981 African and these "Indian" slaves.[564] It is unknown whether there were more Indian slaves, in addition to the thirty mentioned, who also left with these boats.

From this episode, and the fact that it was recorded and sent to the Chamber of Zeeland, it seems that Versterre considered the Dutch colonial government to be responsible to these Indians, even though he was also powerless over the English to demand their return. The indigenous people of Guiana were not Dutch subjects as recognized in English or Dutch law (Jews were not either). Versterre was thus not able to use the breaking of treaties or other legal forms as a means to punish the English, as Crijnsens had done after Nedham's War. It behooved the ousted English, especially when enslaving the indigenous population, to emphasize that the natives of Guiana were acting of their own accord, even if this was not true. Despite Versterre's willingness to search the ships and hamper the departure of the English, he would be unable to prove that the Dutch considered them colonial subjects. In the end, he did not take responsibility for the capture of these Indians anyway. He coldly called the Indians who asked for his help "people without reason."[565]

Versterre failed to advocate for his Indian allies, and he had also failed to smooth out the tense relationship with the more independent Caribs. Just prior to the captivity of these thirty Indians, Carib traders had killed two Dutch bokkenruylers over what they felt were increasingly limited terms of trade under the Dutch, compared to their former English partners.[566] Versterre sent a punitive expedition against the same group of Caribs who had murdered them, most likely

[564] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 249.

[565] "Brief van gouverneur versterre aan gecommitteere raden van zeeland," 16 December 1675, ZA, SvZ, 2035-271.

[566] Buve, “De Positie van de Indianen,” 12; Idem, “Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius" 16.

thinking that swift action would stop any other mishandled trade from turning into violence against a Dutch subject. However, Versterre had few able bodied men able to help him. An epidemic followed the English evacuation, cutting the (already small) post-evacuation population of colonists from 800 to 400 people.[567] Weak both politically and physically, Versterre died shortly after sending the retaliatory expedition. In 1677, Abel Thisso replaced him as Governor for the remainder of the year. During Thisso's interim tenure, he wrote to the incoming Governor Johannus Hensius, that four indigenous leaders identified as both Carib and Arawak united to kill ten colonists on the Perica River, thirty colonists on the Para Creek, and a number of people around the main market town of Torarica. The Indians also destroyed sugar plantations.[568] These events demonstrate that not only the Carib, but groups of Arawak as well, were upset about the encroachments of, and perhaps unfavorable trade arrangements with, Dutch Suriname. The destruction of sugar plantations shows their frustrations were larger than bad deals with the bokkenruylers; they were making a statement against colonial settlement in general, and perhaps the enslavement of their kin in particular.

By 1678, four chiefs from Carib and Arawak tribes, under the leader Pryari, convinced their own tribes, as well as others from the surrounding rivers of Suriname, to join them in attacks against the colonists. Despite the joint efforts of both Carib and Arawak Indians from various rivers in the region, the 1678-1680 rebellion was not a true "pan-Indian" revolt, as Caribs along the Caribbean coastline never joined the rebellion. Some indigenous people even joined the colonial side. The "Dutch" forces in 1679 were hardly Dutch at all, consisting of only 36 Christians, 17 Jews, 60 Indian allies, and 100 African slaves.[569] Neither were African slaves

[567] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 78; Buve, "Gouverneur Johannes Hensius," 17.

[568] "Brief van luitenant-generall Thisso aan niewe gouvernor Hensius," *Indianen in Zeeuws Bronnen*, 13.

uniformly on the side of their masters. Zijlstra points out that the escape of twenty African slaves from Samuel Nassij's plantation actually preceded the organization of the allied Carib and Arawak tribes. Armed search parties had gone after the escaped slaves, leaving the plantations more vulnerable to attack.[570] At first, the Indians ransacked plantations and even killed slaves, but later, they liberated slaves and encouraged them to join their war.[571] In 1680, Samuel Nassij lost an additional group of sixty to seventy runaway slaves from his plantation.[572] The conflict was simultaneously an Indian War and Slave Rebellion.

On 26 October 1679, Heinsius issued an ordinance on the "Sale of Captured Indian Slaves" related to the Indian rebellion. The Governor wrote, "as we ourselves find ourselves embroiled in a bloody, inhumane, and nearly irreconcilable war with the Indians, our barbaric enemies, who are unceasing and they pursue us with fire and brands and everything. . . they can to clear and massacre us, about which we can not sit idle . . .we have concluded that all of the slaves from this country should be transported with the first departing ship."[573] Heinsius thus realized how the presence of Indian slaves had exacerbated the war to begin with, and would only feed the rebellion further. In 1680, at the height of the rebellion, a reflective Governor Heinsius surmised that bokkenruylers who stole Indians, and prevented their free trade with Paramaribo, were to blame for the war. He begged for reinforcements from Zeeland to come help

[569] Zijstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 80.

[570] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 76.

[571] Buve, "Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius," 16-20.

[572] "Brief Samuel Nassi aan govuverneur Heinsius," 30 January 1680, *Indianen in Zeeuwse Bronnen*, 17.

[573] "alle dezelve bueyt slaven uyt den lande zullen worden vervoert met de eerste afgaene schepen." Plakaat 83 "Verkoop van gevangengenomen Indiaanse Slaven" ("Sale of the Captured Indian slaves") 26 October 1679, *West Indische Plakaatboek,* 101.

the colony, which finally came on March 13, 1680, to help contain the war.[574] The Dutch governor had realized, unlike his predecessors, that keeping a population enslaved when it had ready recourse to nearby political allies was a dangerous proposition.

The war might have been ending with the help of Zeeland's troops, but bursts of violence against colonists occurred through the summer of 1680. In July of 1680, a Dutch lieutenant named Simon Schoppens thought he was meeting an Indian chief named Annabanij for a peace talk on the Coppename River. It was actually an ambush of 100 Indian forces against his own much smaller colonial force, and only 11 solidiers survived.[575] From 1679 to 1681, a slave of African descent (variously identified as Gammet, Jarmes, or Ganimet) commanded a fort of runaways and Indians on the Para Creek and even attacked the plantation of Governor Heinsius himself. [576] Scholar Laura Brown has posited that Jarmes was the real-life inspiration for Behn's *Oroonoko,* although she mistakenly thought this rebellion occurred while Behn was in English Surinam.[577] Although the event was not contemporary to Behn's stay, Behn indeed gestures at both Indian wars and slave rebellions under the Dutch takeover, lending credence to Brown's suggestion. Jarmes's standoff at the Para Creek was the last gasp of a valiant effort of indigenous people and slaves against an expanding plantation society. Towards the end of the war, Governor Heinsius died, leaving the new Governor Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk to give a final blow to the Caribs in the most central rivers of the colony, Suriname, Saramacca, and the

---

[574] Buve, “Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius." 17, 21.

[575] Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 85.

[576] Buve, "Positie van de Indianen," 24 ; Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 108-109.

[577] Brown, “The Romance of Empire,” 53.

Coppename. In 1681, fifty slave maroons, out of the 700 to 800 total number of slaves who ran away, were found and executed. Both the Indian war and the slave rebellion were over. [578]

Controlling Indians in Colonial Households

During the Indian War and Slave Rebellion, Governor Heinsius tried to re-assert control over the colony, especially the independent traders he considered to have caused the war. In 1680, his own household became a microcosm of the problems managing a colony population that included free Indian servants, oppositional Anglo-colonists, independent traders, and Indian slaves. Heinsius himself had an Indian slave woman, despite recognizing the conflict inherent to the trade in Indian slaves that same year. This woman was married to a free Indian man named Fatsoentje. Fatsoentje was in the household of a "Scots Koopman," another kind of Indian trader operating independently of the WIC-fort system, named Pieter Roijs (Peter Royce). [579] In 1680, Governor Heinsius filed a suit against Royce for preventing Fatsoentje from visiting the Governors house, which Fatsoentje did to visit his wife. Royce had responded violently to Fatsoentje leaving him and living in Heinsius's household, trying to take Fatsoentje back by force (demonstrating, perhaps, the violence that bokkenruylers used on even free and ostensibly friendly Indians). Governor Heinsius wrote, in his case against Royce, that as a free Indian, Fatsoentje could come and go as he pleased, and Royce could not force him to do anything.[580]

This incident is yet another example of how the freedom of Indians could be used strategically as a way of asserting dominance in Anglo-Dutch conflicts. Whereas Versterre had

[578] Buve, "Gouvernor Johannus Hensius," 24.

[579] A "Schots Koopman" or "Scots Koopman" was probably, but not necessarily Scottish by nationality; the term might be a generalization for non-Dutch merchants operating outside of the purview of the WIC, similar to a bokkenruyler or a swerver. Thanks to Deborah Hamer for pointing out the multivalence of this term.

[580] "Johannes Heijnsus contra Pieter Roijs Schots Coopman," 12 February 1680, ZA, SvZ 2035.2-394.

been powerless against the English commissioners who claimed that free Indians had voluntarily departed with them for Jamaica, Heinsius was, in this case, empowered to use that idea against Anglo-colonists. This case is also interesting because Hensius did not seem to consider manumitting Fatsoentje's wife, showing he did not sympathize so much with the heartbroken Fatsoentje who so desperately wanted to live with her. Indeed, it seems this case was much more about punishing Royce, who perhaps became a focal point for Heinsius's rage against the English in general, and the kind of backwoods traders who he thought sparked the Indian rebellion in particular. Heinsius had decided to uphold the institution of Indian slavery, while disciplining Royce, who represented dissent from Dutch authority. This case's rationale has much in common with Hensius's 1679 ordinance to export rebellious Indian war captives and the 1676 Barbados law that prevented the import of rebellious Indian slaves. In either case, it was not Indian slavery itself that was outlawed, but rather it was the means of acquiring Indian captives that came into question and the threat of further rebellions that these authorities tried to regulate.

The debate between the new Dutch governor Hensius and a Scottish merchant over the marriage of Fatsoentje and his Indian slave wife also shows how the Dutch colonial government (and in this case, the actual governor) asserted their control in very intimate ways. As Deborah Hamer has argued, the WIC was much more concerned with regulating marriage and sexual relations than historians have previously thought. The regulation of sex and marriage, particularly among Indians, became a way to discipline colonial subjects and "reduce the possibility of political revolt by controlling marriage more tightly."[581] Although Suriname was not yet under the control of the WIC, Heinsius's case against Royce certainly showed how affirming marriage could be a way to assert power of the Dutch colonial government.

[581] Hamer, "Creating an Orderly Society," 159.

Indian Slavery under the Sociëteit van Suriname

In the aftermath of the Indian War and Slave Rebellion, Suriname's plantations were decimated, but colonists were eager to rebuild. Governor van Sommelsdijk tried extending peace to as many surrounding indigenous nations as possible. The colony was a financial ruin, however, and the State of Zeeland sold it to the newly-formed Sociëteit van Suriname (Society of Suriname) owned by the van Sommelsdijk famliy, the city of Amsterdam, and the Dutch West Indian Company.[582] It would take almost another decade for treaties with various indigenous groups to settle the violence of the 1678-80 uprising in Suriname. [583] In 1686 Governor van Sommeldijk guaranteed that Caribs, Arawaks, and Warao Indians would not be enslaved.[584] Interestingly, when van Sommelsdijk's family went to Amsterdam for a diplomatic meeting in 1687, their retinue contained four Indian slaves, one of whom died in the Netherlands.[585] Van Sommelsdijk's tenure thus continued Heinsius's tradition of personally keeping Indian slaves while trying to manage and limit the Indian slave trade.

From 1671 to 1684, the number of Indian slaves decreased dramatically in Suriname, while Indian slavery itself became more regulated. For instance, a pre-war ordinance regarding

---

[582] Buve, "De Positie van de Indianen," 35.

[583] Wim Hoogbergen, "The History of the Suriname Maroons," Chapter 2 in *Resistance and Rebellion in Suriname: Old and New*, Gary Brana-Shute (ed) *Studies in Third World Societies* 43 (Williamsburg, Virginia: College of William and Mary, 1990), 73.

[584] Hulsman, "Nederlands Amazonia," 179; I believe this is the same peace referenced in the letter "Heer van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk to the Directors of the Society of Suriname," November 30, 1685 (February 9, 1686), 1.05.03-214 fol 228-230. Nationaal Archief. Van Sommeldijk : "blijckende uit de resolutie van den raedt, als mede alhier tot Parramaarribo om te proffiteren vande gelegentheijt der leege (?) tijt; die vereijst wert tot en notificatie, ende advertentie, vande Planters om haere affcomste tot in hoopen der staaven; het opmaecken en de stellen van een sterck huijs. in de reviere van Surrammaca als mede het perfectionere van de vreede met de Indianen; oock het beantwoorden van haere Ed: Gro: Achtb: Missivens veresschen meerdere ledigheijt, meerder tijt, ene minder ambarras als Ick regste voor wel hebbe, om sulcx erdentelijck ende wel te konnnen doen . . "

[585] "From the Directors of the Society of Suriname in Amsterdam, Jacob Boneel, Paulus Godin, Philippe van Hulten to Van Sommelsdijk," May 29, 1688. NL-haNA_SocSur_1.05.03-91, fol 16-18. Sociëtit van Suriname, Brieven vade Societiet ten den Gouverneur & Andere in Suriname.

the "Hoofd-geld en "Akkergeld" (taxes on slave per head, and acreage, respectively) from 1675 stipulated that planters ought to have presented the council with a list of "alle sijne blancos, negros ende de quantiteyt van de ackers in sijne besittinge" ("all of the Christian servants, blacks, and the quantity of the acres in their possession"), but did not give directions for how Indian slaves should be taxed."[586] In the post-war period, in 1684, the tax lists *did* have a separate category for the numbers of Indian men, women, and children slaves to be counted along with the other slaves for tax purposes.[587] Unlike Barbados, Suriname's colonial authorities trended towards a categorical separation of Indian from African slaves, rather than a trend toward subsuming them under the broad category of "Negro." This separation seems to be the clear result of Suriname having actually experienced a slave revolt, whereas Barbados had squashed slave plots for rebellion before they became wars.[588]

The Hoofd and Akkergeld chart is a useful demographic snapshot of Suriname in 1684. Suriname had 4,755 people total, yet only 745 colonists (16% of the population) who, on average, owned about forty slaves. Between 1671 (the number given in the "petitie inwoners") and 1684, the number of African slaves had increased dramatically, from 2,500 to 3,877, but the number of Indian slaves decreased, from 500 to just 134 Indian slaves in 1684.[589] That is, the percentage of Indian slaves went from 16% of all slaves to just over 3% of the enslaved population (a number more in line with what most scholars expect for Caribbean colonies). In the

---

[586] Plakaat 57. "Hoofd-en Akkergelden," 4 December 1675, *West Indische Plakaatboek.*

[587] "Hoofd En Akkergeld Schuldig," 31 December 1684, haNA-NL, SvS 1.05.03-213 fol 203-242.

[588] On the connection between Barbadians uncovering the plot of a slave revolt, and banning the importation of captives from King Phillip's War, see Fisher, "Dangerous Designes."

[589] For numbers of Europeans, see Zijlstra, "Anglo-Dutch Suriname," 100-103. I thank Suze Zijlstra for guiding me to the incredibly rich source of the "Hoofd en Akkergeld" lists. Zijlstra did a tremendous amount of work calculating the demographic data, and I will cite her when I have not done the math myself. I independently reached a count of Indian slaves that differed from hers by (I counted one more child, at 28 Indian children instead of 27. This may very well be an error on my part. We agree the total number of Indian slaves is either 133 or 134 people.

sugar-producing Commewijne River district alone, there were 1,587 slaves (representing 40% of the black slave population) with 48 of the 134 Indians slaves (36% of the Indian slave population).[590] The location of these Indian slaves in the same place as the largest number of African slaves suggests that they were also engaged in sugar production, or at the very least, the household economies that supported sugar production. Another interesting statistic to emerge from the Hoofd-en-Akkergeld list is relative numbers of female to male Indians in Suriname. In 1684, the adult Indian slaves in Suriname were 54 women, compared to 39 men.[591] This diverges from the data from Barbados, where there was gender parity among the Indian slaves listed in property transactions (Table 1). This gendered dynamic of Indian slavery is more apparent in frontier societies, as most Caribbean colonies struggled to recruit either women from he higher-ranks of European societies or female indentured servants.[592] Almost uniformly, scholars have discussed the fluid boundaries between Indians who were domestic slaves and Indian wives. Julianna Barr has pointed out that the distinction between an Indian woman as a domestic servant and consort *or* a colonists' wife often depended on whether a government had made official proclamations against Indian slavery.[593]

---

[590] "Petitie Inwoners," Inhabitants of Suriname to the Zeeland Chamber of the West Indies Company, 11 March 1671, ZA, SvZ, 2035-225; Enthoven, "Suriname and Zeeland,"256, 257; "Hoofd En Akkergeld Schuldig," 1684, haNA SvS 1.05.03-213 fol 230-242.

[591] "Hoofd En Akkergeld Schuldig," 31 December 1684, haNA-NL, SvS 1.05.03-213 fol 203-242.

[592] Breslaw, *Tituba*, 6; for more on Irish indentured servitude, see Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean*; For female *engagés* in the French Caribbean, Bernard Moitt, *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635-1848* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001) 8-11.

[593] Barr, "From Captives to Slaves."

Indian Slavery in WIC Forts

The forts of Dutch Guiana were such a place where there was a gender preference for female Indian slaves. In 1687, the Dutch Bouroma colony (present-day Pomeroom River in the Republic of Guyana) had "ten male negroes, seven female negroes (with three children), four male Indians, and six female Indians (with three Indian children)" working along with Simon a "free Indian who is in the service of this company."[594] In 1688, on another fort on the Pomeroon, there were "five negro men, five negro women (three children)" with "seven Indian women" and two of their children.[595] As these tables, albeit a very small sample size, indicate that Indian slaves skewed female. Their labor probably also included sexual companionship for traders. The fruits of these relationships were mixed-ethnicity *uitlopers*, who gained status as WIC company servants for their ability to translate fluently between indigenous languages and Dutch.[596] One of the clearest similarities between the WIC's Indian fort slaves and the WIC's castle slaves in Africa would have been their translation and diplomatic skills between indigenous societies and the WIC's "Factory Masters." Both shared functions as being cultural intermediaries, translators, and diplomats for the WIC. [597]

These fort records show that a significant number of Indians worked in the Company's service as slaves, although not nearly in the numbers of slaves who worked on the sugar

---

[594] "British Guiana Dutch Association Papers," TNA, CO 116/18/10, 9 May 1687.

[595] "British Guiana Dutch Association Papers," TNA, CO 116/18/85, 1688.

[596] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast*, 428.

[597] Dutch, English and French factors along the coast used castle slaves, in addition to paying free natives, to go on diplomatic missions to the King of Aja and his deputies (Ouidah, Jakin, Great and Little Popo, and Offra in modern day Benin and Togo in the Gulf of Guinea). West Indies Company employees, including free natives, were not paid very well, but "the Factory Master" who was in charge of maintaining good relations with native rulers, was paid handsomely for this important service. The Factory Master's extra wages were particularly necessarily to pay transactional fees and gifts to local governments to ensure Dutch access to trade routes and goods. Postma, "The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade," 45, 135-138.

plantations of Suriname. They were, however, the key to Dutch survival in Caribana, performing similar duties as the first generation of Indian "servants" employed by the Amsterdam Guiana Company, Walter Raleigh and his contemporary explorers. Just as Indians who thought Suriname was encroaching on their trade networks or their collective autonomy fought back colonial expansion, the indigenous people of Caribana would destroy trading posts and cut off access to indigenous trade networks when they felt the Dutch undermined their power.

Conclusion

Dutch Suriname's position within Caribana amplified the ill-effects of the Indian slave trade. Although the Caribs extended trade to Dutch colonists, the Dutch had very little to give them in return during a period where they were otherwise cut off from trade by the English and French. The Carib and Dutch never developed mutual trust, and to make matters worse, colonial Suriname's desperation for labor pushed them to allow Caribs to enslave the Arawak and Warao allies of the Dutch. If the Dutch could not protect their allies, nor furnish them with a robust trade in European manufactures, they had very little to offer the indigenous people of Caribana. Both the indigenous slave trade, and the colonial trade in Indian slaves, undermined Suriname's success after the Anglo-Dutch War. Only after the Indian War and Slave Rebellion of 1678-1680 did the Dutch colonial government limit the enslavement of the surrounding population. Even before the war, Suriname's governors produced much more legislation concerning Indian slavery as a separate institution from Africa slavery. This is indicative of the added pressure the governors of Surinam faced from the surrounding indigenous population of Caribana, whether this pressure came from Carib middlemen wanting to sell captives, indigenous men wanting to visit their enslaved wives, or Indians concerned about slave raids during inter-imperial conflicts.

CONCLUSION

While an increasing number of historians have considered how North American Indian captives were forced to labor in the Caribbean, this dissertation has considered why the Caribbean would have been a receptive location to the captured indigenous people of North America. As I have demonstrated, Caribbean colonies each had a unique history of integrating imported Indian laborers with imported slaves from Africa. In places with as many diverse cultural influences as Española, Curaçao, Barbados, and Suriname, the labor of Indian and African slaves had been linked and regulated under similar labor systems. The context that created this diverse enslaved population within Caribbean colonies were the battles between European colonizing nations and Caribana: a colonial world and an indigenous world both fighting for territory, markets, and people.

The similarities between African and Indian slavery was something that European colonists consciously hid throughout the seventeenth century. A particular challenge of writing this dissertation has been working with sources that are very self-conscious of the shameful nature of Indian slavery. There is a sense that they are always holding back from describing the full extent of Indian slavery. Aspects of how Indian slaves were acquired, and then served plantations, comes out in unguarded moments. Shame and Indian slavery went hand and hand since Columbus's march of his first Caribbean captives to Queen Isabella ended in confusion, rather than congratulations. What Columbus considered a proud act of conquest was soon remembered as a hypocritical act that undermined the task of colonization itself. Indian slavery was a practice that tarnished the rallying rhetoric of evangelicism and alliance, leaving monarchs with the truth that colonial ventures were not mutually beneficial to themselves and the indigenous populations, but base, avaricious, and bloody. The colonists who followed in

Columbus's footsteps thought they could enact the ideals of spreading Christianity and friendship more earnestly than the much-maligned Admiral, but they also clung to just war theories of captivity in case they could not control the native people they encountered.[598] Indigenous resistance to colonization, and the resulting warfare between Indians and colonists gave the Iberians a way of framing Indian slavery as justified, even if it was serving base and materialistic goals.

Raleigh and his contemporaries strove for cordial, rather than contentious, relationships with indigenous people as an investment in future settlements. Yet, they still wrestled with their limitations as communicators, voyagers, and soldiers. Indian slavery was the practice that revealed the hubris of colonists who thought they could take America all by themselves, and realized, in moments of desperation, that they needed help from its original inhabitants. Although some of these Indian slaves were taken as prisoners of war, oftentimes they were simply stolen for their manpower or knowledge. Still, seventeenth-century English and Dutch settlers considered themselves better diplomats, explorers, and managers of indigenous laborers than those who had come before them. They quickly learned that, just as with their predecessors, their schemes were limited by unfamiliar geographies and the strength of the native populations they encountered. In their limitations, and their dependence on the natives of Caribana who maintained their autonomy, rather than accepting vassalage under Europe, there was yet another layer of shame.

In places where Caribana did not extend, like on the deserted island of Barbados, European ambitions were easier to fulfill. English colonists there were able to quickly trap any Indian captives they needed into the same coercive institution as other imported slaves. To be successful in the borderlands of Caribana, however, the savvier governors and settlers, like

[598] Alexandrowicz, *An Introduction to the History of the Law of Nations.*

Groenewegen in Essequibo, Van Pere in Berbice, and Rowse and Marten in Surinam, knew that they had to establish themselves slowly. They integrated themselves into indigenous trade networks, developed reciprocal trade relationships, and made sure that the Indians they purchased as captives were not the same populations they relied on for military aid. Trade was a language of bonds, reciprocation, and inter-dependence that both indigenous and European cultures shared. If a previously unintimidating European populations grew too large, however, or demanded too much from their hosts, these alliances were broken. Violence escalated, and either colonists were driven off, or colonial governments needed to adapt to a renewed, vulnerable position.

Evidence suggests that Dutch Suriname employed larger numbers of Indian slaves than Barbados, or other colonies in either the English or Dutch Caribbean, most likely as a result of their proximity to regional indigenous markets south of the Guiana coast. The proximity to Caribana also resulted in indigenous merchants forcefully rebuffing European traders who did not treat them as equals. Barbados, on the other hand, had no place in indigenous trade networks by the time the English came. The Kalinago allowed for Barbados to flourish under a kind of salutary neglect. This fortuitous combination of indigenous neglect and colonial interest (primarily from English and Dutch actors) facilitated Barbados's transition to the most successful producer of sugar of the seventeenth century. The Dutch colonists of Suriname, on the other hand, tried to alter the rules of indigenous trade in Caribana, threatening the power that the Carib population surrounding Suriname had been building up over the previous hundred years. Dutch ignorance, and underestimation, of Caribana doomed them.

When the evacuated ships from Suriname arrived in Jamaica in 1675, Governor Vaughn reported that they carried between 1100-1200 people: 250 colonists, and 981 African and "Indian

slaves." Throughout this decade, Charles II had been directing the efforts of Englishmen in the Caribbean colonies away from the previous power-center of Barbados, giving up Surinam in the process, and driving them towards Jamaica instead.[599] Anglo-Barbadians of means, recognizing the limited arable land on their island, had already sought out new territory in North America, in Carolina. Jamaica physically inherited the Indian slaves of Suriname, and both Jamaica and Carolina inherited the legal traditions of slavery that were formed with Caribbean Indian slaves in mind. The 1661 black codes of Barbados, along with the 1684 slave code of Jamaica, and the laws passed in the 1690s in Carolina, each built on each other. Together, they created a systematic legal system differentiating black slaves from other forms of labor. By 1691, the Carolina Assembly added "Indian" to the definition of slave. The previous black codes were a palimpsest, with the influence and regulation of the "other" Indian slaves reappearing.[600]

Suriname's future governors, the van Sommelsdijk family, signed peace treaties to prevent the surrounding Indian nations from being enslaved, as they had been during the Anglo-Dutch wars. But the practice of Indian slavery continued. In 1688, the Barbados Council issued the Act that prevented the importation of any Indian slaves, regardless of origin. But plantation owners continued counting Indians on list of "Negroes" who worked on their property. In that same year of 1688, Aphra Behn published her critique of wrongfully enslaving noble Africans, framed in an idealistic world where Englishmen wouldn't dare to enslave their indigenous allies either. The late 1680s seemed like a time for peace between colonists and natives, a moment where the dangers of Indian enslavement were recognized and Caribana respected. And yet,

[599] Roberts, "Surrendering Surinam," 248-249.

[600] Rugemer, "The Developmenet of Mastery and Race," 449-450, 452.

European colonists continued to purchase Indian slaves from Caribana.[601] It was still legal for Barbadians, and now Jamaicans and Carolinian as well, to own Indian slaves.

With the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the brief period of violent competition between the Dutch and English in the Caribbean came to an official end. Both nations joined the grand alliance, aiming to defeating the French in Europe and America. In the Caribbean, the Anglo-Dutch trade partnership that had sustained the initial settlements of both groups, one hundred years prior, was allowed to heal. The damage inflicted upon indigenous people in the Americas, and both Indian and Africa slaves, however, was irreperable. The institution of slavery would only strengthen. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century, there was little legal culture that instituted a slavery associated with descendents of black Africans to the exclusion of "other slaves" who came to the Caribbean through raids and trade originated in multiple locations. The codes were strengthened, rather than abolished. Both Suriname and Barbados continually revised their regulations of slavery based on fears of both Indian and black uprisings.[602]

The networks of Indian enslavement continued, although their branches had extended further and further from the nucleus of Barbados, southward towards the Amazon basin, northward towards Carolina. In the eighteenth century, Caribana was no longer the primary region to raid or other extract Indian slaves for Caribbean plantation societies. The continuation of the Indian slave trade is evident in the lasting memory in the indigenous population of Guiana. In the nineteenth century, anthropologists in Guiana found that Indians still referred to a "slave path" of one of these early modern traders. The trader had used a route from the Rio Negro, a tributary of the Amazon River, northward towards the Surinam River via the inlet Primoss, and

---

[601] For the continuation of Indian enslavement and its effects to the present day, see Peter Kloos, *The Maroni River Caribs of Suriname* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Comp, Dr. H.J. Prakke & H.M.G. Prakke, 1971).

[602] Breslaw, *Tituba,,* 31-34.

across Berbice to the Corentyne.[603] Slaves and slave traders had crossed the entirety of Guiana to find, transport, and sell Indian slaves in European colonies.

Spaces of autonomy from European colonialism continued to exist in the Caribbean throughout the eighteenth century, but these spaces were no longer exclusively indigenous. Many maroon communities of runaway African slaves found refuge in the spaces of Caribana, whether in Guiana on the Lesser Antilles that had prevented further colonial encroachment. In 1683, Intendent-General Michel Bégon estimated that there were only 6,000 Caribs left on St. Vincent, and 4,000 of them were black Caribs, children of African women who either fled or were stolen from other Caribbean islands. These children of indigenous and African cultures created a community known as the Garifuna, still a distinct ethnic group in the Caribbean today. Just as the legal codes of the period from 1660-1690s reflect a move to consider Indian and African slaves one and the same, demographic shifts revealed that it was becoming harder to make the distinction between Indian and African people in the Caribbean.[604] Caribana ceased to exist as I have defined it in this dissertation, although the spirit of resistance has lived on.

---

[603] Bos, *Some Recoveries in Guiana Indian Ethnohistory*, 16.

[604] Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 97.

REFERENCES

Archival Collections, Manuscript

Barbados Archives, St. Michael's Parish, Barbados
RB 3 Series, Recopied Deeds
Minutes of the Council and Assembly of Barbados
Transcript Acts of the Barbados Assembly

The British Library, London, England
3662 Sloane Manuscripts
2395 Egerton Manuscripts

The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., United States
Collections of the Maps and Geography Reading Room

The National Archives, Kew, England
116/18 Colonial Office, British Guiana Dutch Association Papers
260/3/1 Colonial Office (Various Caribbean Islands)

Het Nationaal Archief, The Hague, The Netherlands
1.05.03 Societeit van Suriname

Stadsarchief, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
379 Archief van de Classis Amsterdam van de Nederlands Hervormde Kerk

Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg, The Netherlands
2035.1-2035.2 Staten van Zeeland

Primary, Printed

Anonymous.
1993 [1743] "Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados, and other the Carribbee Islands, with the Succession of the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Barbados to the Year 1742." In *Some Early Barbadian Histories.* Edited by P. F. Campbell. St. Michael, Barbados: Caribbean Graphics and Letchworth, LTD.

Behn, Aphra.
2007 [1688] *Oroonoko: Or, The History of the Royal Slave. In Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth Century*. Edited by Derek Hughes. Cambridge, UK and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Van Berkel, Adriaan.
2014 [1695] *American Voyages to River Berbice and Suriname.* In *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana: Amerindian-Dutch Relationships in 17th-century Guyana*.

Edited by Martijn van den Bel, Lodewijk Hulsman, and Lodewijk Wagenaar Leiden, NL: Sidestone Press.

Biet, Antoine.
1967 [1664] *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l'isle de Cayenne Enterprise par les François en l'anne MDCLII.* In "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados." Edited and translated by Jerome S. Handler. *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 32, no 2: 56-76.

Bosman, William.
1705 *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts.* London: Printed for James Knapton.

Dikland, Philip, ed., transcriber.
2003 *Zeeuws Archivalia uit Suiname en omliggende kwartieren 1667-1683*. Paramaribo, Suriname: het Surinaams Museum. Available online in PDF *<files.archieven.nl/239/f/GIDS102/2035-transcripties.pdf>*

Forbes, Allyn B., ed.
1947 *Winthrop Papers, Volume V: 1645-1649*. Boston, Massachusetts: The Massachusetts Historical Society.

Formisano, Luciano, ed. and David Jacobson, trans.
1992 *Letters from the New World: Amerigo Vespucci's Discovery of America.* New York, NY: Marsilio.

Gehring, Charles, trans., ed. and J.A. Schiltkamp, transcriber, ed.
1987 *Curaçao Papers, 1640-1665*. *New Netherlands Documents, Vol 17*. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing.

Harcourt, Robert.
1626 [1613] *The Relation of a Voyage to Guiana. Describing the Climate, Situation, Fertlitie & Commodities of That Country: Together with the Manner, and Customes of the People*. London, UK: Edward Allde. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
1613 Harcourt, Robert. *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*. *Describing the Climate, Situation, Fertlitie & Commodities of That Country: Together with the Manner, and Customes of the People*. London: Printed for John Beale for W. Welby. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Keymis, Lawrence.
1596 *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana*. London, UK: Thomas Dawson. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

de Las Casas, Bartolome.

1992 [1542] *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies.* Translated and edited by Nigel Griffen. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Ligon, Richard.
2000 [1657] *The True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados, 1657*. Edited by J. Edward Hutson. St. Michael's Parish, Barbados: The Barbados National Trust.

Molendijk-Dijk, E.F., M.A. Smulders, F. van der Doe, A.C. Meijer, J.H.F. Schwartz, eds.
1992 [1667-1682] *Indianen in Zeeuwse Bronnen: Brieven over Indianen in Suriname tijdens het Zeeuwsw bewind gedurende de priode 1667-1683. Paramaribo, Suriname: Stichting.*

Raleigh, Walter.
1997 [1596] *The Discoverie of the Large, Riche and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana by Walter Ralegh*. Annotated, Edited, and Introduced by Neil L. Whitehead. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
2008 [1596] *The Discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Ralegh with Related Documents.* Edited and Introduced by Benjamin Schmidt. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins.

De Rochefort, Charles.
1665 [1654] *Histoire Naturelle et Morale Des Iles Antilles de L'Amerique. Enrichie D'un Grand Nombre de Belles Figures En Taille Douce, Des Places & Des Raretez Les plus Considerables, Qui Y Sont Décrites. Avec Un Vocabulaire Caraibe. Reveuë & Augmentée de Plusieurs Descriptions, & de Quelques Èclaircissemens, Qu'on Desiroit En La Precedente.* 2nd ed. Rotterdam, NL: Arnout Leers. Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam.

J.A. Schiltkamp and Dr. J.Th. de Smidt, eds.
1973 *West Indisch Plakaateboek: Plakaten, ordonnantiën en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname: Deel I, 1667-1761*. Amsterdam, NL: S. Emmering.

Du Tertre, Jean-Baptiste.
1667 *Histoire Generale Des Antilles Habitées Par Les François. Divisée En Deux Tomes. Et Enrichie de Cartes & de Figures.* Vol. I & II. Paris, France: Thomas Jolly. Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam.

Warren, George.
1667 *An Impartial Description of Surinam upon the Continent of Guiana in America: With a History of Several Strange Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents*. London, UK: William Godbid for Nathaniel Brooke. Early English Books Online.

Secondary, Monographs and Articles

Abu-Lughod, Janet.
1989 *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Alexandrowicz, Charles Henry.

1967 *An Introduction to the History of the Law of Nations in the East Indies, 16th, 17th, 1967 and 18th centuries.* Oxford, UK: Claredon Press.

Armstrong, Douglas V., and Matthew C. Reilly.
2014 "The Archaeology of Settler Farms and Early Plantation Life in Seventeenth-Century Barbados." *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no 3: 399-417.

Barber, Sarah.
2007 "Power in the English Caribbean: The Proprietorship of Lord Willoughby of Parham." In *Constructing Early Modern Empires: Proprietary Ventures in the Atlantic World, 1500-1750*. Edited by Wim Klooster and Benjamin Schmidt. Vol. 11. Atlantic World. Boston, MA: Brill.

Barr, Julianna.
2004 "A Diplomacy of Gender: Rituals of First Contact in the 'Land of Tejas'." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no 3: 393-434.
2005 "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Women in the Borderlands." *The Journal of American History* 92, No. 1: 19-46.
2007 *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
2011 "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, No 1: 5-46.

Beamish, Ian and Justin Roberts.
2013 "Venturing Out: The Barbadian Diaspora and the Carolina Colony, 1650-1685." In *Creating and Contesting Carolina: Proprietary Era Histories*. Edited by Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press.

Beckles, Hilary McD.
1989 *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
1992 "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation of the Caribbean." *Caribbean Quarterly* 38, no 2: 1-14.

Van den Bel, Martijn, Lodewijk Hulsman, and Lodewijk Wagenaar.
2014 "Dutch newspapers reporting on the Guianas, 1650-1700." "History and reception of *American Voyages.*" "Historical Context of *American Voyages.*" In *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana: Amerindian-Dutch Relationships in 17th-century Guyana*. Leiden, NL: Sidestone Press.

Benton, Lauren.
2010 *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Berlin, Ira.

2003 *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bernhard, Virginia.
1999 *Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda 1616-1782.* Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Bonney, Richard.
2001 "The European Reaction to the Trial and Execution of Charles I." In *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I.* Edited by Jason Peacey. New York, NY: Palgrave.

Boomert, Arie.
1995 "Island Carib Archaelogy." In *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean.* Edited by Neil L. Whitehead. Leiden, NL: KITLV Press, 1995.
2009 "Between the Mainland and the Islands: The Amerindian Cultural Geography of Trinidad." *Bulletin of the Peabody Museum of Natural History* 50, no 1: 63-73.

Bos, Gerrit.
1998 Some *Recoveries in Guiana Indian Ethnohistory*. Vol. 6. Anthropology Series. Amsterdam, NL: Vrij Universiteit Uitgeverij.

Boucher, Philip P.
1992 *Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492-1763.* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Boxer, Charles R.
1957 *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654.* Oxford, UK: Claredon Press, 1957.
1974 *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the 17th Century: 1652-1674*. London, UK: National Maritime Museum, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Brading, David A.
1991 *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Brady, Robert L.
1966 "The Role of Las Casas in the Emergence of Negro Slavery in the New World." *Revista de Historia de América* 61/62: 43-55.

Breslaw, Elaine G.
1996 *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

Brooks, James F.
2002 *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Brown, Laura.
1987 "The Romance of Empire: *Oroonoko* and the Trade in Slaves." In *The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature*. Laura Brown and Felicity Nussbaum, eds. New York and London: Methuen.

Buve, Raymond.
1966 "Gouverneur Johannes Heinsius de rol van van aerssen's voorganger in de surinaamse indianenoorlog, 1678-1680." *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 45, no. 1: 14–26.

Callaghan, Richard T.
2010 "Crossing the Guadeloupe Passage in the Archaic Age." In *Island Shores, Distant Pasts: Archaeological and Biological Approaches to the Pre-Columbian Settlement of the Caribbean*. Edited by Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Ann H. Ross. Gainsville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Cañeque, Alejandro.
2004 *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Mexico*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Canny, Nicholas.
2011 "A Protestant or Catholic Atlantic World? Confessional Divisions and the Writing of Natural History." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Raleigh Lecture on History, 181: 83–121.

Carlin, Eithne B.
2009 *In the Shadow of the Tiger: The Amerindians of Suriname*. Leiden, NL: KITLV publishers.

Carney, Judith A.
2001 *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Crosby, Alfred W.
1972 *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
1984 "An Ecohistory of the Canary Islands: A Precursor of European Colonization in the New World and Australasia." *Environmental Review* 8, no 3: 214-235.

Curtin, Phillip.
1975 *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Dickson, Vernon Guy.
2007 "Truth, Wonder, and Moral Exemplarity in Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko.'" *Studies in English Literature* 47, No. 3: 573-594.

Drewet, Peter L.
2002 *Amerindian Stories: An Archeology of Early Barbados*. St. Michael Parish, Barbados: Barbados Museum and Historical Society.

Dunn, Richard S.
2000 [1972] *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*. Reprint. Chapel Hill, NC: The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press.

Dunthorne, Hugh.
1997 "Resisting monarchy: the Netherlands as Britain's school of revolution in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." In *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs and H.M. Scott. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Edelson, S. Max.
2010 "Beyond 'Black Rice': Reconstructing Material and Cultural Contexts for Early Plantation Agriculture," *American Historical Review* 115 no 1: 125-135.
2013 "Defining Carolina: Cartography and Colonization in the North American Southeast." In *Creating and Contesting Carolina: Proprietary Era Histories*. Edited by Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press.

Eltis, David, Philip Morgan and David Richardson.
2007 "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas." *American Historical Review* 112 no. 4: 1329-1358.

Eltis, David and Lawrence C. Jennings.
1988 "Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World in the Pre-Colonial Era." *The American Historical Review* 93, No. 4: 936-959.

Emmer, Pieter.
1998 "Jesus Christ was Good by Trade was Better': An Overview of the Transit trade of the Dutch Antilles, 1634-1795." In *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880: Trade, Slavery and Emancipation.* Edited by Pieter Emmer. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Emmer, Pieter and Ernst van den Boogart.
1998 "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596-1650." In *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880: Trade, Slavery and Emancipation.* Edited by Pieter Emmer. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Enthoven, Victor.
1996 "Suriname and Zeeland: Fifteen Years of Misery on the Wild Coast, 1667-1682." In *International Conference on Shipping, Factories and Colonization.* Edited by J. Everaert and J. Parmentier. Brussels, BE: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer.

2005 "The Islands at the Center of the Atlantic World: the early presence of the Dutch in the West Indies." *De Halve Maen* 78, no 4: 67-68.

Fernández-Arnesto, Felipe.
2010 *Columbus on Himself*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company.

Fickes, Michael J.
2000 "They Could Not Endure that Yoke: The Captivity of Pequot Women and Children after the War of 1637." *New England Quarterly* 73, no 1: 58-81.

Fields, Barbara.
1990 "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States in America." *New Left Review* 1, no 181: 95-118.

Fisher, Linford D.
2014 "'Dangerous Designes': The 1676 Barbados Act to Prohibit New England Slave Importation." *William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no 1: 99-124.

Gallay, Alan.
2002 *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
2009 "Introduction." *Indian Slavery in Colonial America.* Edited by Alan Gallay. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

Games, Alison.
2008 *Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
2015 "Cohabitation, Suriname-Style: English Inhabitants in Dutch Suriname after 1667." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 2: 195-242.

Goetz, Rebecca Anne.
2012 *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race.* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
2016 "Indian Slavery: An Atlantic and Hemispheric Problem," *History Compass* 14, no 4: 59-70.

Goslinga, Cornelis.
1971 *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580-1680*. Gainsville, FL: University of Florida Press.
1979 *A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.

Gragg, Larry.
2003 *Englishmen Transplanted: The Colonization of Barbados 1627-1660*. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press.

van Groesen, Michiel.
2008 *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages 1590-1634*. London, UK and Boston, MA: Brill.

Guasco, Michael.
2007 "To 'Doe Some Good Upon Their Countrymen': The Paradox of Indian Slavery in Early Anglo-America." *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 2: 389–411.

Guitar, Lynne.
2006 "Boiling It Down: Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane *Ingenios* in the Americas (Hispaniola, 1530-1545)." In *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*. Edited by Jane G. Landers and Barry M. Robinson. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Handler, Jerome S.
1967 "Father Antoine Biet's Visit to Barbados." *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 32, no 2: 56-76.
1969 "The Amerindian Slave Population of Barbados in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Caribbean Studies* 8 no 4: 38-64.
1970 "Aspects of Amerindian Ethnography in 17th-Century Barbados." *Caribbean Studies* 9 no 4: 50-72.
1997 "Escaping Slavery in a Caribbean Plantation Society: Marronage in Barbados, 1650-1830s." *New West Indian Guide* 71, no 3/4: 183-225.

Hatfield, April Lee.
2005 "Dutch and New Netherlands Merchants in the Seventeenth-Century Cheseapeake." In *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel.* Edited by Peter A. Coclanis. Columbia, SC: Universiy of South Carolina Press.

Hauptman, Lawrence M. and Ronald G. Knapp.
1977 "Dutch-Aboriginal Interaction in New Netherland and Formosa: An Historical Geography of Empire." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 121, No 2: 166-182.

Hill, Jonathon D. and Fernando Santos-Granero, eds.
2002 *Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language, Family and Culture Area in Amazonia*. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Hofman, Connie L., Alistair J. Bright, Arie Boomert, and Sebastiaan Knippenberg.
2007 "The Web of Social Relationships and Interactions Networks in the Lesser Antillean Archipelago Between 400 B.C. and A.D. 1492." *Latin American Antiquity* 18 no 3: 243-268.

Hoogbergen, Wim.

1990 "The History of the Suriname Maroons." In *Resistance and Rebellion in Suriname: Old and New*. Edited by Gary Brana-Shute. *Studies in Third World Societies* 43. Williamsburg, VA: The College of William and Mary Press.

Hughes, Derek.
2007 "Introduction." In *Versions of Blackness: Key Texts on Slavery from the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hulme, Peter.
1986 *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London, UK and New York, NY: Methuen & Co Ltd.

Jacobs, Jaap.
2009 *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch settlement in seventeenth-century America*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kars, Marjoleine.
2011 "Cleansing the Land: Dutch-Amerindian Cooperation in the Suppression of the 1763 Slave Rebellion in Dutch Guiana." In *Empires and Indigenes: Intercultural Alliance, Imperial Expansion, and Warfare in the Early Modern World*. Edited by Wayne E. Lee. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Klein, Herbert S.
1996 "Blacks." In *The Countryside in Colonial Latin America.* Edited by Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Kloos, Peter.
1971 *The Maroni River Caribs of Suriname*. Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Comp, Dr. H.J. Prakke & H.M.G. Prakke.

Klooster, Wim.
1997 *The Dutch in the Americas, 1600-1800: A Narrative History with the Catalogue of an Exhibition of Rare Prints, Maps, and Illustrated Book from the John Carter Brown Library.* Providence, RI: The John Carter Brown Library.
1998 *Illicit riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. Leiden, NL: KITLV Press.
2010 "The Essequibo Liberties: The Link between Jewish Brazil and Jewish Suriname." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 42/43: 77-82.

Koks, Frans.
"Ortelius Atlas." Library of Congress. Accessed August 29, 2016. http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gnrlort.html.

Koot, Christian.
2005 "An Adaptive Presence: The Dutch Role in the English Caribbean before and after the 'Fall' of Dutch Brazil." *De Halve Maen: Journal of the Holland Society of New York* 78, no 4: 69-76.

2007 "'A Dangerous Principle': Free Trade Discourses in Barbados and the English Leeward Islands, 1650- 1689." *Early American Studies* 5, no 1: 132-163.
2011 *Empire at the periphery: British colonists, Anglo-Dutch trade, and the development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl.
1993 *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. New York, NY: Barnes & Noble Books.
1998 "Errand to the Indies: Puritan Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design." In *Settlement Patterns in Early Modern Colonization, 16th-18th Centuries*. Edited by Joyce Lorimer. Varorium Expanding World Series. Vol 25. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Leng, Thomas.
2008 *Benjamin Worsley (1618-1677): Trade, Interest, and the Spirit in Revolutionary England.* Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

Lipman, Andrew.
2015 *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Lockhart, James, and Stuart B. Schwartz.
1999 [1983] *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil.* Reprint. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lovejoy, Paul E.
2000 *Transformations in Slavery: A history of Slavery in Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lorimer, Joyce.
1979 "The English Contraband Tobacco Trade in Trinidad and Guiana, 1590-1617." In *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650.* Edited by K.R. Andrews, Nicholas P. Canny and P.E.H. Hair. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press.
1989 *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550-1646*. London, UK: The Hakluyt Society.

Menard, Russell.
2006 *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

Metcalf, Alida.
1992 *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Meuwese, Mark.

2012 *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1674*. Boston, MA: Brill.

Moitt, Bernard.
2001 *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635-1848.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indian University Press.

Monteiro, John M.
2005 "Labor Systems." In *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America.* Edited by John H. Coatsworth, Roberto Cortes-Condé and Victor Bulmer-Thomas. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Newell, Margaret.
2015 *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Newman, Simon P.
2013 *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Norton, Marcy.
2015 "The Chicken or the *Iegue:* Human-Animal Relationships and the Columbian Exchange," *The American Historical Review* 120, no 1: 28-60.

O'Malley, Gregory E.
2014 *Final Passages: the Intercolonial Slave Trade in British America 1619-1807.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press and the Omohundro Institute of Early America History and Culture.

Padgen, Anthony.
1982 *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
1995 *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500-c.1800*. New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press.

Parrish, Susan Scott.
2010 "Richard Ligon and the Atlantic Science of Commonwealths." *William and Mary Quarterly* 67, no 2: 209-248.

Patterson, Orlando.
1982 *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pincus, Steven C.A.
1996 *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Price, Richard.
1966 “Caribbean Fishing and Fishermen: A Historical Sketch.” *American Anthropologist* 68, no. 6: 1363–83.

Puckrein, Gary A.
1984 *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbadian Politics, 1627-1700*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Reséndez, Andrés.
2016 *The Other Slavery: the uncovered story of Indian enslavement in the America.* Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Restall, Matthew.
2004 *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Roberts, Justin.
2016 "Surrendering Surinam: The Barbadian Diaspora and the Expansion of the English Sugar Frontier 1650-75." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 73, no 2: 225-256.

Rogers, Katherine M.
1988 "Fact and Fiction in Aprha Behn's 'Oroonoko.'" *Studies in the Novel* 20, no 1: 1-15.

Rugemer, Edward B.
2013 "The Development of Mastery and Race in the Comprehensive Slave Codes of the Greater Caribbean during the Seventeenth Century." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no 3: 429-458.

Rushforth, Brett.
2012 *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press and the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Russell, Peter.
2000 *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Russell-Wood, A.J.R.
1992 *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Santos-Granero, Fernando.
2009 *Vital Enemies: Slavery, Predation and the Amerindian Political Economy of Life*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Seed, Patricia.
1995 *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*.

Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, Jenny.
2013 *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Schiltkamp, J.A.
1997 "On Common Ground, Legislation, Government, Jurisprudence and Law in the Dutch West Indian Colonies: The Order of Government of 1629." *De Halve Maen* 70, no 4: 73-80.

Schmidt, Benjamin.
2001 *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
2008 "Raleigh's Courteous Conquest." In *The Discovery of Guiana by Sir Walter Ralegh with Related Documents. Edited by Benjamin Schmidt. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins.*

Smallwood, Stephanie.
2007 *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Smits, David.
1982 "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index of Savagism." *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 4: 281-306.

Snyder, Christina.
2010 *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stern, Steven J.
1988 "Feudalism, Capitalism and World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean." *American Historical Review* 93, no 4: 829-72.

Stone, Erin Woodruff.
2013 "America's First Slave Revolt: Indians and African Slaves in Española, 1500-1534," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 2: 195-217.

Thornton, John.
1998 *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World 1400-1800,* 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Van Deusen, Nancy E.
2015 *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Vaughn, Alden T.

2002 "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters, 1584-1618." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49, no 2: 341-376.
2009 *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

de Vries, Jan.
2005 "The Dutch Atlantic Economy." In *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel.* Edited by Peter Coclanis. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Visconsi, Elliott.
2002 "A Degenerate Race: English Barbarism in Aphra Behn's 'Oroonoko' and 'the Window Ranter.'" *English Literary History* 69, no. 3: 673–701.

Wallerstein, Immanuel.
1974 *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the 16th Century*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
1980 *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Warren, Wendy Anne.
2007 "'The Cause of Her Grief': The Rape of a Slave in Early New England." *Journal of American History* 93, no 4: 1031-1049.

Warsh, Molly.
2010 "Enslaved Pearl Divers in the Sixteenth Century Caribbean." *Slavery & Abolition* 31, no 3: 345-362.

Watson, Kelly L.
2015 *Insatiable Appetites: Imperial Encounters with Cannibals in the North Atlantic World*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Weaver, Jace.
2014 *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Whitehead, Neil L.
1984 "Carib Cannibalism: The Historical Evidence." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 70, no 1: 69-87.
1988 *Lords of the Tiger Spirit: A History of the Caribs in Colonial Venezuela and Guyana, 1498-1820*. Dordrecht, NL: Foris Publications.
1990 "Carib Ethnic Soldiering in Venezuela, the Guianas, and the Antilles, 1492-1820." *Ethnohistory* 37, no 4: 357-85.
1995 "Introduction." *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean.* Edited by Neil L. Whitehead. Leiden, NL: KITVL Press, 1995.

1997 "Introduction." "The *Discoverie* as an Enchanted Text." In *The Discoverie of the Large, Riche and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana by Walter Ralegh*. Annotated, Edited, and Introduced by Neil L. Whitehead. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
2011 "Indigenous Slavery in South America, 1492-1820." In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3: *AD 1420-AD 1804.* Edited by Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Secondary, Theses

Buve, Raymond.
1960 "De Positie van de Indianen in de Surinaamse Plantagekolonie gedurende de 17e en de 18e Eeuw: een poging tot sociaal-historische studie." Masters, Universiteit van Leiden.

Hamer, Deborah.
2014 "Creating an Orderly Society: The Regulation of Marriage and Sex in the Dutch Atlantic World, 1621-1674." PhD diss., Columbia University.

Hulsman, L.A.H.C.
2009 "Nederlands Amazonia: Handel met indianen tussen 1580 en 1680." PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Postma, Johannes.
1971 "The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade: Slaving on the Guinea Coast, 1675-1795." PhD diss., Michigan State University.

Ziljstra, Suzanna (Suze).
2015 "Anglo-Dutch Suriname: Ethnic Interaction and Colonial Transition in the Caribbean, 1651-1682." PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Rivers of Caribana

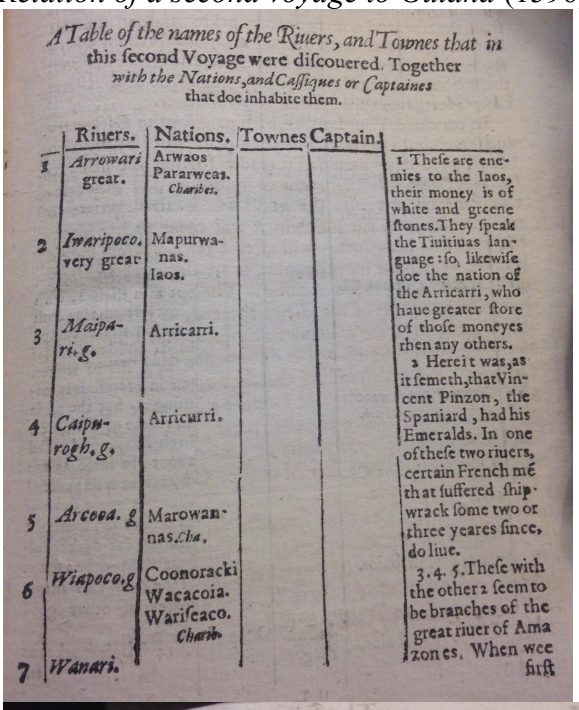
Detail "CARIBANA" from Nicholar Visscher (Dutch), “Insulae Americanae in Oceano Septentrionali ac Regiones Adiacentes,” 1670, Hoover #15 Power #1235380, Library of Congress Map Room.

Pictured Rivers W to E (modern spelling): Paryma (Barima), Wayni (Waini), Pauroma (Bouroma), Iwapoi, Essekebe (Essequibo), Demerara (not pictured), Mirara, Mabeyca, Maycawini, Apary (Abary), Berbice, Corretine (Corantijn), Marateha, Copanama (Coppename), Saramacca (not pictured), Serranam (Suriname), Maraywyne (Marowijne).

Rivers further east, in present-day French Guiana are not pictured, but include the Maroni, Mana, Sinamary, Comté, Approuague, and Wiapoco (Oyapock). The Oyapock forms the present-day border between French Guiana and Brazil, which of course contains the Amazon and its major tributary, the Rio Negro. The Rio Negro is sometimes referenced in histories of Guiana because it reaches north from the Amazon toward the southern border of Venezuela.

Appendix B

Lawrence Keymis, "A Table of the Names of the Rivers, and Townes that in this second voyage were discovered Together with the Nations, and Cassiques or Captaines that doe inhabite them," *Relation of a second voyage to Guiana* (1596).

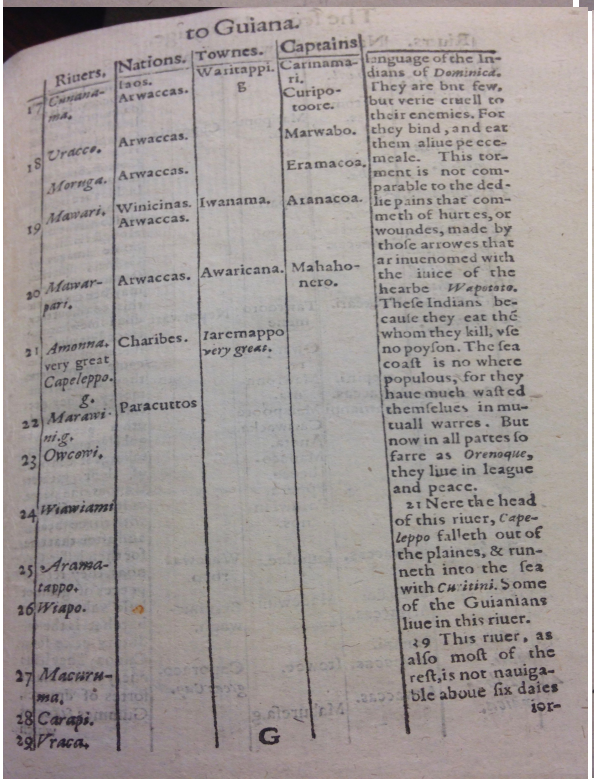


A Table of the names of the Riuers, and Townes that in this second Voyage were discouered. Together with the Nations, and Cassiques or Captaines that doe inhabite them.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes	Captain.	
1	Arrowari great.	Arwaos Pararweas. Charibes.			1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speak the Tiuitiuas language: so, likewise doe the nation of the Arricarri, who haue greater store of those moneyes then any others. 2 Here it was, as it semeth, that Vincent Pinzon, the Spaniard, had his Emeralds. In one of these two riuers, certain French mē that suffered ship-wrack some two or three yeares since, do liue. 3.4.5. These with the other 2 seem to be branches of the great riuer of Amazones. When wee first
2	Iwaripoco. very great	Mapurwanas. Iaos.			
3	Maiparri. g.	Arricarri.			
4	Caipuroghi. g.	Arricurri.			
5	Arcoua. g	Marowannas. Cha.			
6	Wiapoco. g	Coonoracki Wacacoia. Wariscaco. Charib.			
7	Wanari.				

The second Voyage

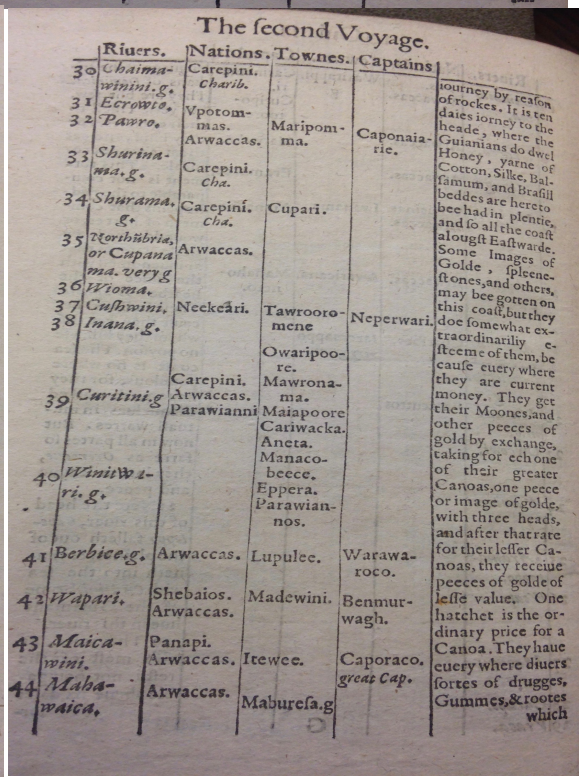
	Riuers.	Nations.	Towns	Capta.	
8	Capurwacka. g.	Charibes.			first fell with land, wee were, by the Indians report, but one dayes iorney from the greatest riuer, that is on that coast. 6 The first mountains that appear within land doe lie on the East side of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants do passe with their Canoas in twenty daies to the salt lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath manie Cateractes like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one frō another. where it falles into the sea, hilles doe inclose it, on both sides. 10 The Freshet shoots out into the sea, with great force: the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rockes. but in prooffe it is nothing els but the pride and force of the tydes. In this baye, and round about, so farre as the mountaines doe extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing far darker colour then other some. Here are also manie sortes of other good woods. 14 These speake the lan-
9	Cayo. g.	Iaos.	Icoomana.	Wareo.	
10	Wia. g.	Maworia. Charib.	Paramōna. g.	Mashwipo	
11	Caiane. g.	Wiaco. Ch.	Canawi. g		
	Gowateria great Iland	Shebaios.	Orinikero.	Parawatteo.	
12	Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.			
13	Cawroora	Arawaccos Charib.			
14	Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch			
15	Cureey.	Shebaios.			
16	Curassawini.	Shebaios.	Mussiwara. g.	Ocapanio.	



to Guiana.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains	
17	Cuiuana-ma.	Iaos. Arwaccas.	Waritappi. g	Carinamari. Curipotoore.	language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but verie cruell to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue peecemeale. This torment is not comparable to the deadlie pains that commeth of hurtes, or woundes, made by those arrowes that ar inuenomed with the iuice of the hearbe Wapotato. These Indians because they eat thē whom they kill, vse no poyson. The sea coast is no where populous, for they haue much wasted themselues in mutuall warres. But now in all partes so farre as Orenoque, they liue in league and peace. 21 Nere the head of this riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, & runneth into the sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer. 29 This riuer, as also most of the rest, is not nauigable aboue six daies ior-
18	Vracco.	Arwaccas.		Marwabo.	
	Morrga.	Arwaccas.		Eramacoa.	
19	Mawari.	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	Iwanama.	Aranacoa.	
20	Mawarpari.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana.	Mahahonero.	
21	Amonna. very great Capeleppo. g.	Charibes.	Iaremappo very great.		
22	Marawini. g.	Paracuttos			
23	Owcowi.				
24	Wiawiami				
25	Aramatappo.				
26	Wiapo.				
27	Macuruma.				
28	Carapi.				
29	Vraca.				

G



The second Voyage.

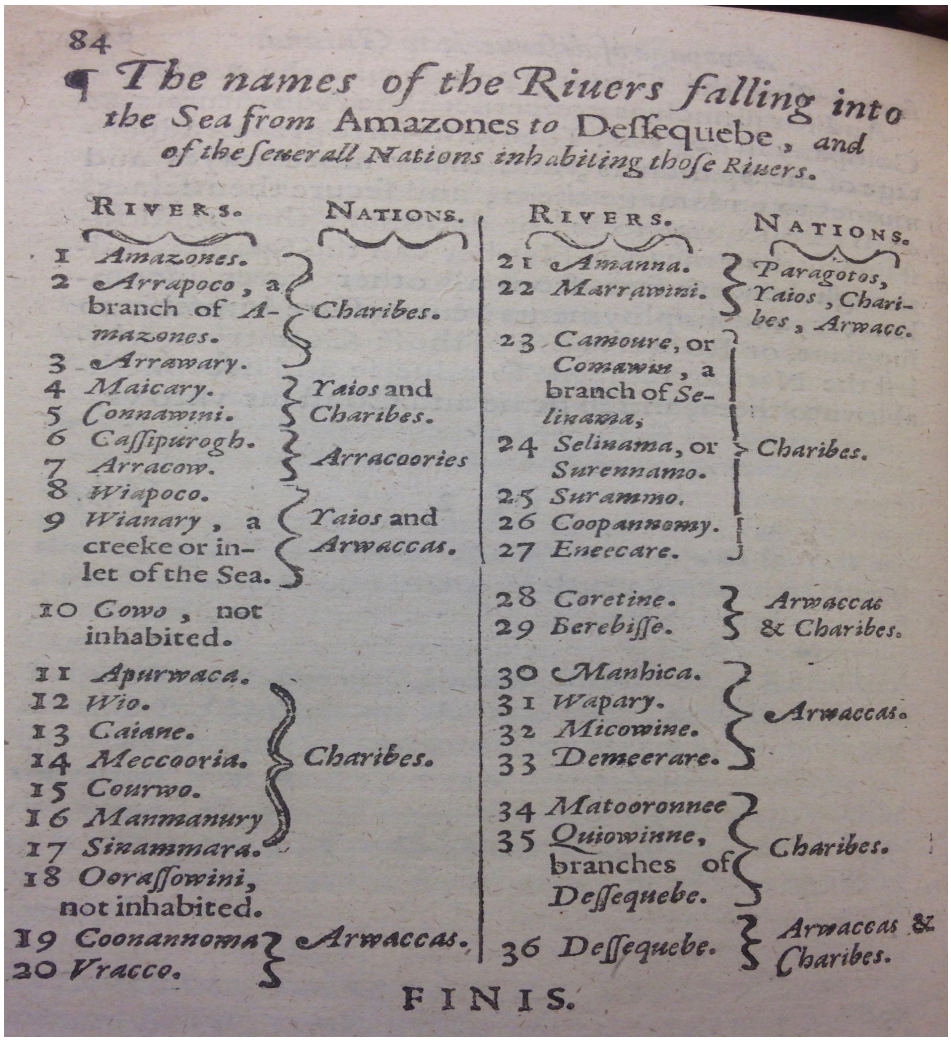
	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains	
30	Chaimawinini. g.	Carepini. Charib.			iourney by reason of rockes. It is ten daies iorney to the heade, where the Guianians do dwel Honey, yarne of Cotton, Silke, Balsamum, and Brasill beddes are hereto bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alougst Eastwarde. Some Images of Golde, spleenestones, and others, may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of them, because euery where they are current money. They get their Moones, and other peeces of gold by exchange, taking for eche one of their greater Canoas, one peece or image of golde, with three heads, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receiue peeces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinary price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers sortes of drugges, Gummes, & rootes which
31	Ecrowto.	Vpotommas.			
32	Pawro.	Arwaccas.	Maripomma.	Caponaiarie.	
33	Shurinama. g.	Carepini. Cha.			
34	Shurama. g.	Carepini. Cha.	Cupari.		
35	Northūbria, or Cupanama. very g	Arwaccas.			
36	Wioma.				
37	Cuswini.	Neckecāri.	Tawroorome	Neperwari.	
38	Inana. g.		Owaripoore.		
		Carepini.	Mawronama.		
39	Curitini. g	Arwaccas. Parawianni	Maiapoore Cariwacka. Aneta. Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos.		
40	Winiwari. g.				
41	Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Lupulee.	Warawaroco.	
42	Wupari.	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	Madewini.	Benmurwagh.	
43	Maicawini.	Panapi. Arwaccas.	Itewee.	Caporaco. great Cap.	
44	Muhawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburesa. g		

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains	
		wacawaios.	Maburesa.g		which I doubt, not by father tri al, will be found medicinable
45	Demerare.g.	Arwaccas.			
46	* Denoritia, or Dessekebe.	Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas. Charibes. Maripai. wocowaios Parawianni			*Names of poysoned hearbes.*
	very g.				Ourari.
	Matoraoni.				Carassi.
	Coowini.				Aparecpo.
	Chipanama.				Parapara.
	Arawanna.	Iwarewake-ri.	Caiare-mappo. waroopana		
	Horebece.		Maripa.	Macapowa	*Hearbes good against poyson.*
47	Pawrooma.g.	Iaos.	Chiparipa-ro.	Shuracoi-ma.	Turara.
	Arpacoro.	Panipi.	Towtwi.		Cutarapama.
	Ecawini.		Sarinbugh.		Wapo.
	Manuriwini.		Wariwagh.		Macatto.
			Coopa-roore.g.	Manareco wa.	
48	Moruga. g.	Iaos.	Awiapari.	Iarwarema	The 29. day of Iune we arriued in Portland Roade, hauing spente fiue moneths in going, staying, and returning.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.	Topoo.		
	Chaimeragoro.				
		Charibes.	Tocoopoima. g.	Parana.	
49	Waini. g.				
		Charibes.	Pekwa.g.	Anawra.	
50	Barima. g.	Arwaccas.	Arwakima	Aparwa.	
	Caitooma.			Arracurri.	
	Arooca.				
51	Amacur. g.				
52	Aratoori. g.				
	Cawrooma.g.				
	Raleana, or Orenoque.				
	Maipar	Ilandes in mouth of Raleana.			
	Itacaponea				
	Owareca-paier.				
	Warucanasso.				

* So called after the name of the right honorable the Earle of Essex.

Appendix C

Robert Harcourt, "The Names of the Rivers falling ot the Sea from Amazones to Dessequibe, and of the severall Nations inhabited those Rivers," *The Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, 2nd ed (1626).



84

¶ The names of the Riuers falling into the Sea from Amazones to Deſſequebe, and of the ſeuerall Nations inhabiting thoſe Riuers.

	Riuers.	Nations.
1	Amazones.	Charibes.
2	Arrapoco, a branch of Amazones.	
3	Arrawary.	
4	Maicary.	Yaios and Charibes.
5	Connawini.	
6	Caſſipurogh.	Arracoories
7	Arracow.	
8	Wiapoco.	
9	Wianary, a creeke or inlet of the Sea.	Yaios and Arwaccas.
10	Cowo, not inhabited.	
11	Apurwaca.	Charibes.
12	Wio.	
13	Caiane.	
14	Meccooria.	
15	Courwo.	
16	Manmanury	
17	Sinammara.	
18	Ooraſſowini, not inhabited.	
19	Coonannoma	Arwaccas.
20	Vracco.	
21	Amanna.	Paragotos, Yaios, Charibes, Arwacc.
22	Marrawini.	
23	Camoure, or Comawin, a branch of Selinama,	Charibes.
24	Selinama, or Surennamo.	
25	Surammo.	
26	Coopannomy.	
27	Eneecare.	
28	Coretine.	Arwaccas & Charibes.
29	Berebiſſe.	
30	Manhica.	Arwaccas.
31	Wapary.	
32	Micowine.	
33	Demeerare.	
34	Matooronnee	Charibes.
35	Quiowinne, branches of Deſſequebe.	
36	Deſſequebe.	Arwaccas & Charibes.

FINIS.